DOCUMENT RESUME

24

EA 001 677

ED 023 180

By-Havighurst, Robert J., And Others
Interaction Between Society and Education in Chicago. Final Report.
Chicago Univ., Ill. Dept. of Education.
Spons Agency-Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.
Report No-CRP-2866
Bureau No-BR-5-0322
Pub Date 30 Jun 68
Contract-OEC-5-10-303
Note-73p.
Available from-The University of Chicago, Department of Education, 5835 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60637 ($3.00).
EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC Not Available from EDRS.
Descriptors-Bibliographies, Black Community, Board of Education Role, Business Responsibility, Church Responsibility, Citizen Participation, City Government, Educational Policy, *Historical Reviews, *Metropolitan Areas, Population Trends, *Public School Systems, *School Community Relationship, *Social Systems, State School District Relationship, Superintendent Role, Teacher Associations, Welfare Agencies
Identifiers-Chicago

This study of social systems in Chicago has three objectives: (1) To explore the interaction of the educational system with the social structure and social forces in a modern metropolitan area, (2) to make a historical study of the development of education in a city evolving during the 20th century, and (3) to develop a method for a sociohistorical study of education in a complex community. The findings are (1) that the public schools are an important element in the local politics of Chicago, (2) that the public schools have been influential both in educational policy and in receiving financial support from the business men of the community, (3) that several major civic organizations have been important factors in certain decisions affecting schools, (4) that the public schools have been brought into cooperation with noneducational agencies to solve social problems of the city, (5) that teachers' organizations have been active since 1900, (6) that the personalities of certain individuals in the school system have influenced educational history, and (7) that population movements have influenced the public schools. (HW)

BR-5-0322
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FINAL REPORT
COOPERATIVE RESEARCH PROJECT NO. 2866
Contract OE-5-10-303

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# INTERACTION BETWEEN SOCIETY AND EDUCATION IN CHICAGO

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ED023180

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HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
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# INTERACTION BETWEEN SOCIETY AND EDUCATION IN CHICAGO

By

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Chicago, Illinois

June 30, 1968

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# INTERACTION BETWEEN SOCIETY AND EDUCATION IN CHICAGO

## SUMMARY

There have been three major objectives of this study:

a. To explore the interaction of the educational system with the social structure and the social forces in a modern metropolitan area.

b. To make a historical study of the development of education in a big city as the city evolved during the twentieth century.

c. To develop a method for a socio-historical study of education in a complex community.

The principal members in the project were:

Robert J. Havighurst, Sociology of Education
Robert L. McCaul, History of Education
Elizabeth L. Murray, Coordinator (formerly a member of the Chicago Board of Education)

With the aid of about fifteen research assistants and associates, and over a three-year period, studies were made of various aspects of the subject, and working papers were prepared. A seminar meeting weekly or bi-weekly kept the group in communication with one another.

The final work of putting the working papers together into a coherent exposition has been done by the three principal authors, with certain of the assistants and associates taking responsibility for their own chapters.

### Time Period Covered

The work of George S. Counts, published under the title School and Society in Chicago, was especially useful as a means of setting a beginning point for the intensive part of the study. Professor Counts dealt with the period around 1925 and the years just before that time. Consequently this study uses the 1925 period as a base-line, and covers the period from 1925 to 1965 with analytical care. Also, the period up to 1925 is sketched in descriptively to present the social-historical setting for the events of the 1925-65 period.

### Basic Concepts of the Study

The basic concept of the Study is that of a social system, which is a system of actions of individuals, the actions being roles and constellations of roles. A role is a set of behaviors that is appropriate to a particular position or status in a society.

An educational system is a set of roles and role constellations which teaches children and adults some things they are not likely to learn efficiently in the family or at work. A school is a social system consisting of the roles of principal, teacher, parents, and pupil. A school system is a more inclusive social system that includes a number of schools plus an administrative staff and a school board and several sets of specialists such as psychologists, remedial specialists and examiners.

A social system may be studied as it exists in a particular moment in time. But it may also be studied as it has existed through time, for what that system is today is determined not only by the conditions now influencing it but also by the characteristics it has acquired previously. Social roles and social constellations are not static; they evolve and their evolution is an important subject of study. Thus some of the chapters in this project summary are historical in nature.

It is possible and useful to study a social system as a set of roles and role constellations, without looking closely at the individuals who fill the roles. This procedure has been done in most of the chapters of this report. However, the actual performance of a person in a role depends both on the way the role is defined and on his own particular personality. Thus one man will act quite differently in the role of superintendent of schools than another man, though they both fill the same role. Accordingly, several of the chapters in this report deal with individuals in the performance of their roles--as superintendent, member of the Board of Education, Mayor of Chicago, officer of a teachers' organization, etc.

The system of public schools in the City of Chicago is the central focus of the study, but a number of other social systems have influenced the educational system, and consequently they, too, are studied. They are: the city government; the business system; the parent-teacher association; other civic associations; the press; the system of welfare agencies; the church system; the civil rights organizations.

Other educational systems interact with the city public schools in important ways, notably the Catholic schools; and they, too, were under study in a broad, descriptive manner.

As a geographical setting for the Study the metropolitan area of Chicago was used--a five-county area including and surrounding Chicago. Population migration into and out of Chicago and the development of suburbs have profoundly influenced the Chicago school system. Therefore the suburban school systems are studied in a general way, and a particular suburb, Chicago Heights and its neighboring communities, is studied as a case study of the development of a complex suburban area educational system.

## General Findings

The results of the study are reported in the various chapters of the book which will appear as the final product. The principal general propositions that are substantiated and illustrated by the Study are:

1. The public schools are a very important element in the local politics of Chicago. School issues are important during election campaigns. The school system has at times been an important element in the patronage of local political machines.

2. The public schools have been influenced both in educational policy and in their level of financial support by the business men of the community.

3. Several major civic organizations have devoted a great deal of their time to school affairs and have been important factors in certain decisions affecting the schools.

4. The public schools have been brought into cooperation with non-educational agencies in the attempt to solve major social problems of the city.

5. Teachers' organizations have been active in Chicago since 1900, working on matters of educational and social policy as well as on teacher-welfare.

6. Certain individuals who filled important roles in the school system have influenced educational history by placing the stamp of their individual personalities upon the roles they performed.

7. Population facts, such as birth rates and migration into and out of the City of Chicago, have profoundly influenced the public schools.

# CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

## Historical Sketch to 1925

In 1840, the traditional date of founding for the Chicago public school system, the public schools were under the authority of and were run by the elected Common Council of the city and by a seven-member Board of School Inspectors and twelve District School Trustees appointed by the City Council for one-year terms. The system consisted of 4 primary and elementary schools, 4 male teachers, and 317 pupils, with an annual expenditure of $2,059, and these schools offered instruction in reading, spelling, grammar and composition, arithmetic, algebra, geography, and history.

In 1925 the public schools were under the authority of an eleven-member Board of Education appointed for five-year terms by the mayor with the approval of the Council, and the schools were administered by a Superintendent of Schools with a staff of 286 professional and clerical persons, a Business Manager with a staff of 768 persons exclusive of janitors and custodians, and a School Attorney with a staff of 14 persons. The office of Superintendent of Schools had been created in 1853, that of Business Manager (Building and Supply Agent) in 1863, and that of School Attorney in 1874.

By 1925 the Chicago system had grown to 423 schools, 11,827 male and female teachers, and 411,443 pupils, with an annual expenditure of $56,072,525. It was organized into kindergartens (added in 1892), primary and elementary schools, junior high schools (added in 1924), academic high schools (the first opening in 1890), and a normal school (opening in 1896, the second such institution, the first having opened in 1871 and been closed in 1877). Courses for children, adolescents, and adults were being offered in the subjects of the 1840 curriculum and in botany and physics, music and art, Latin and French, personal health and swimming, typing and automobile mechanics, baking and sewing, English language and American government, and in a great number more of the social sciences, biological and physical sciences, modern languages and literature, and in the recreational, health, commercial, and vocational fields. Special schools and classes were being made available to the deaf, blind, epileptic, crippled, and mentally and academically retarded, for children with speech defects and tubercular and cardiac conditions, for truants, delinquents, and incorrigibles, and for children who were patients in hospitals. In the schools were bathing facilities, motion picture projectors and films, stereopticons and slides, radios, libraries, typewriters, lathes, printing presses, pianos, organs, looms, stoves, and a multifarious assortment of other learning and teaching equipment, gear, and supplies.

Besides public schools, there were private schools in the city, some secular and some sponsored by the churches and synagogues. Secular private schools were the first to exist in the Chicago region and until 1858 enrolled more children than the public schools, but afterward they had declined in number and importance. On the other hand the denominational schools had multiplied, and, of these, the Catholic parochial school system which had begun with one school in 1846 and had come by 1925 to include 251 elementary and secondary schools with 143,139 pupils was the largest of its kind in the country and probably the world. The denominational impulse was also strong in higher education, for all the great institutions of the area had been founded by one or another of the sects--Northwestern University by the Methodists in 1855, Loyola in 1870 and DePaul in 1889 by the Catholics, and the University of Chicago in 1892 by the Baptists. Armour Institute of Technology, founded in 1892 and later becoming the Illinois Institute of Technology, was an exception; it was non-denominational in origin, having been endowed by Philip D. Armour, the meatpacker.

Outside of the city the empty prairies had filled with residential suburbs like Evanston and Winnetka and industrial communities like Cicero and Chicago Heights. These had their own public and parochial systems, growing in accordance with their own distinctive rhythms and patterns and yet in their evolution resembling that taking place in Chicago.

What forces, in a mere eighty-five years, had led to this extraordinary development in the size, variety, and complexity of the educational arrangements provided by the municipalities, citizens, and churches of metropolitan Chicago? The causes were rooted in the changes that were radically transforming society and expanding and elevating the expectations of the schools held by citizens and schoolmen alike. Among the more important of these causes were the rapid increase in the population of the city and suburbs and the shifts in the distribution of this population, the racial, ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity of the inhabitants, the cycles of peace and war and prosperity and depression, the rise of industry until it had outstripped commerce and transportation in the economy, the models of administrative and financial efficiency set by the corporations and new industrial empires, the weakening of the family, the strengthening of the spirit of civic pride, humanitarianism, and social justice, the professionalization and feminization of the occupation of teaching, and the impetus of educational reform movements like Herbartianism and Deweyanism with their distinctive social and educational visions and priorities and their particular strategies, tactics, and logistics of implementation.

The forces operating in the period from 1840 to 1925 continued to affect society and the schools in the years following. How could the schools be protected from undue influence from government, business, civic and welfare groups, teachers' organizations, and the religious denominations and yet recognize the legitimate expectations and concerns of these sectors of the community and take advantage of the constructive ideas and suggestions they had to offer? What effective policy-making and policy-executing structures could be adopted by the schools? How could the curriculums and services furnished by the schools be made to respond to new social and personal needs? How could equal and appropriate educational opportunities and training be supplied the different social classes and racial elements of the community? What sorts of productive relationships could be formed between public and parochial school systems and central city and suburban school systems? Such questions as these challenged citizens and schoolmen from 1925 to 1965 and demanded from them the best thought and the best action they could muster.

## Educational and Other Social Systems in Chicago

In planning such a broad study, it was necessary to create a conceptual structure for thinking about education in relation to society. Then the research could be organized so as to fit and to fill out this conceptual structure.

We might have broken up the educational system into age levels and made a historical study of elementary schools, high schools, and junior colleges. We might have divided the operation of a school system into its several components, such as finance, school buildings and maintenance, curriculum, pupil personnel services, teacher personnel administration, etc. Then we could have traced each of these aspects through the time period of the study.

However, since the study was aimed at exploring the relations between the school system and other elements of the society in which the system functions, it seemed wise to use concepts that are especially useful in the study of society. Therefore the social system concept has been heavily used. The school system is seen as a large and complex system of sub-systems, shown in Figure 1, and the school system is also seen as interacting with a number of non-educational systems.

Thus the research might be described as a study of social systems of the Chicago area as they have impinged on the school system. A social system is a set of interacting social roles and constellations of roles which perform a function in a society. A social role is a set of behaviors that is appropriate to a particular status or position in a society. Thus the classroom teacher has a role, the school principal has another role, the superintendent, the School Board member, the pupil, all have roles, and the school system is the sum-total of the social roles that are performed within it.

This is an abstract, impersonal way of studying human behavior and for that reason it has certain advantages and certain disadvantages. We can overcome some of the disadvantages by examining systematically some of the persons who filled key roles, such as superintendent, School Board president, leader of a teachers' organization. This we have done in several of the chapters, thus adding the influence of personality upon performance in a social system. We have described several superintendents, some school board members, a leader of a teachers' organization, and some businessmen.

It is clear that study of the development of education in a changing complex society requires attention to what is going on outside of the schools. The program of the school is affected by the state of business and industry, and by their requirements for manpower. Also, the political situation affects the schools in the financing and administration of the school system. And socioethical movements in the society, such as the drive for civil rights for Negroes, almost certainly will stir up a response in the school system.

It was decided, therefore, to study as many non-educational systems in the Chicago area as possible that had influenced the school system and been influenced by it. Eventually, time and resources permitted studies of the following systems, and these studies are recorded in a chapter for each in the book we are producing.

## Systems in the Society that Interact with the Public School System

City Government

State Government

Business and Industry

Welfare Agencies

Church Federation

Citizens Schools Committee

Civil Rights Organizations

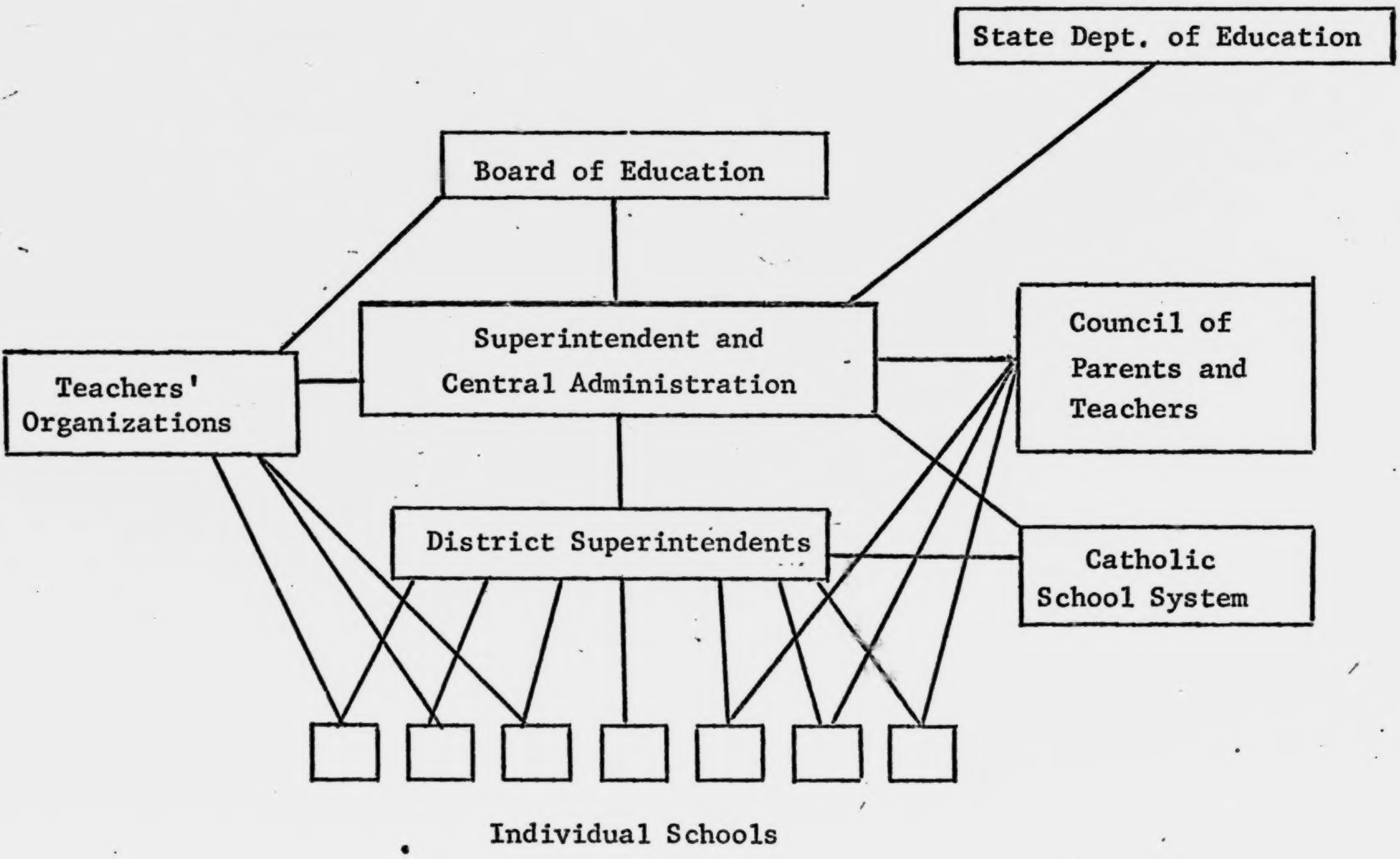
Newspapers

## Intra-system Functioning

The public school system itself is a vast complex supra-system which consists of many sub-systems. Each individual class is a sub-system, as is the school, and each set of schools that are presided over by a district superintendent.

The major sub-systems are depicted in Figure 1, with lines connecting the various sub-systems that interact. Most of these sub-systems have been studied and are reported upon in separate chapters.

Figure 1. THE CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM, ITS SUB-SYSTEMS AND OTHER EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS


State Dept. of Education
Board of Education
Superintendent and Central Administration
Teachers' Organizations
Council of Parents and Teachers
District Superintendents
Catholic School System
Individual Schools

# Chronology of the Chicago Public Schools
# 1915 - 1966

| | |
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| 1915 | |
| April | William Hale Thompson starts first term as mayor. |
| | Labor fights for free uniform textbooks statewide. |
| September | Jacob Loeb, President of Board of Education, secures passage of Board rule outlawing membership of teachers in labor unions. |
| December | Ella Flagg Young resigns as Superintendent. |
| | John Shoop elected Superintendent - "an honest man, but not a strong man or a fighter." |
| | Archbishop Mundelein appointed. Begins period of expansion and integration of Catholic school system. |
| 1916 | |
| May | Chicago Teachers' Federation becomes Local No. 1 of American Federation of Teachers. |
| June | Sixty-eight teachers dropped for union membership; leads to tenure legislation in 1917. |
| | Elementary teachers' salaries reduced 10% by Loeb Board. |
| | Board takes over program of vocational guidance from the Association of Commerce. |
| | First sale of Warrants on taxes in year of collection. |
| | Federation of Women High School Teachers formed. |
| 1917 | |
| February | Federal Smith-Hughes Act to aid vocational training passed. |
| April | State Supreme Court upholds right of Board of Education to "decline to employ any teacher for any reason whatsoever." |
| | Chicago Teachers' Federation leaves American Federation of Labor but Men Teachers' Union and Federation of Women High School Teachers continue affiliation. |
| May | Legislature passes the Otis Law, reducing Board of Education from 21 to 11, giving Superintendent power over appointments, promotions, purchasing, sites and buildings, and creating 3 co-ordinate officers: superintendent, business manager, attorney; Superintendent's term set at 4 years. Board of Examiners created. Teachers given tenure, after certification by examination. |
| | Permissive law on free textbooks passed. |

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| 1917 | May | Cooley bill embodying concept of separate vocational education system defeated for third and last time in legislature, despite support of business groups. |
| | June | Mayor Thompson names 11 new Board members under Otis Law, including Loeb and one other former member. City Council fails to confirm them. They take over office anyway. Reinstate ousted teachers and raise salaries. |
| 1918 | August | Superintendent Shoop dies. Board elects Peter Mortenson, local man, Superintendent. |
| | October | State Supreme Court restores authority to old Board of 21. It elects Loeb president, reduces Mortenson to acting superintendent and starts to look for new superintendent. |
| 1919 | March | Charles E. Chadsey, former Detroit Superintendent, elected Superintendent. |
| | | Civic Federation fights local tax increases in legislature and increases are cut substantially. |
| | | Public Education Association tries (in vain) to get bill passed for election of Board of Education members. |
| | April | Thompson re-elected, pledged to remove Chadsey who had been chosen by the old Board of 21. |
| | May | Thompson again appoints Board of 11 under Otis Law, not including Loeb, who brings suit. This Board knocks out Mr. Chadsey and names Mortenson Superintendent. |
| | July | Three-day race riot in Chicago. Emergence of Negroes as "problem" in Chicago. |
| | October | Courts declare second Thompson Board illegal. He names a third Board, including Loeb. This is allowed to stand. |
| | November | Court upholds Chadsey's right to superintendency. Board agrees nominally but takes all power away from him. Chadsey resigns and Mortenson again elected. But the circuit court convicts the Board members and attorney of conspiracy, and they serve brief jail sentences. Mortenson not guilty, but "from an ethical and moral standpoint, he presents the meanest figure in the case." |
| 1920 | | School enrollment 406,000: 247,000 of foreign parentage; 119,000 of native white parentage; 29,000 foreign-born; 11,000 Negro. |
| | | School budget of $24,555,470 exceeds revenues by $2,369,880. |

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| 1920<br>April | Growing accusations of graft in school purchasing and sites. |
| | Engineers strike, closing schools 9 days. Win wage increases. |
| | Federation of High School Teachers and women's clubs protest expensive and wasteful system of "farming out" janitorial service. Not changed until 1927. |
| 1921 | Board appropriations exceed revenues by $5 million. |
| | Teachers' Councils become part of official machinery, meeting regularly during school hours. |
| | First school playground tax, schools take over 57 city-operated playgrounds. |
| | Report on riot (The Negro in Chicago) lists 22 schools (out of nearly 300) with 10% or more Negroes. |
| June | Referendum on free textbooks, opposed by Thompson and the Board of Education, passes. |
| 1922 | Grand Jury investigates financial practices of the Board of Education, especially purchase of Wendell Phillips High School and Forrestville sites. Some employees indicted. Teachers Federation requests suspension of 3 indicted employees. Later, some Board members were indicted but all were found not guilty. |
| | Dr. John Dill Robertson becomes President, Board of Education. |
| | New constitution for Illinois defeated by voters. |
| April | Chicago Teachers' League and Federations of Men and High School Women Teachers ask for salary increases and get them; maximum elementary salary $2500. Basic scale unchanged to 1944. |
| 1923<br>April | William E. Dever (Democrat) elected Mayor, pledges not to interfere with school system. Seven new Board of Education members appointed, including first labor member. Board starts search for new superintendent. |
| May | Charles Moderwell elected president of Board of Education. |
| | National Public School Protective League presents 6,000 petitions for retention of Mortenson. |
| | Tax levy for school building passes with support of teachers' organizations and organized labor, but against opposition of Tribune and Daily News. |

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| 1924 | February | William E. McAndrew appointed superintendent, with support of civic groups, Bureau of Public Efficiency, Public Education Association and Teachers Federation. Soon announces plans for junior high schools and platoon system, and big building program. |
| | May | Junior high schools approved by Board, opposed by labor. |
| | June | Teachers' Councils question junior high schools, oppose platoon system and secret rating of teachers. |
| | September | McAndrew abolishes Teachers' Councils. His policies now strongly opposed by Chicago Teachers Federation and organized labor. |
| 1925 | May | Edward B. Ellicott elected president of Board of Education. |
| | | For the first time, current year's taxes included in annual budget (1925 taxes in 1925 budget). Increased dependency on sale of tax warrants. |
| | | Board conflict with McAndrew over retirement of Examiner (Campbell) because of age. |
| | | Teachers Federation publicly claims 36 billion in taxable corporate property escaping property taxes. |
| | | Board appropriates money to assist in securing more equitable assessment. |
| | | Growing shortage of seats in schools. School building program stepped up; deficits in building fund. |
| | September | Federation of Women High School teachers protests teacher ratio in high schools of 1 teacher to 35 pupils. |
| 1926 | | Teachers Federation and other teacher groups file suit on corporation taxes. Eventually suits are lost. |
| | | Chicago population reaches three million and school population 500,000; school budget, $70 million. |
| 1927 | | Legislature passes Miller Act for compulsory retirement of teachers at 70 (outcome of conflict over Campbell). It also raises tax rates sharply -- first time since 1921 that the educational tax rate was raised. |
| | | As a result of suit by janitors, Appellate Court orders direct employment of plant operation personnel; this greatly increases cost of operation and number of temporary employees. As a result of Court decision, Board orders Civil Service clerks in schools instead of extra teachers, at which McAndrew balks. |

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| 1927 | State Tax Commission throws out property assessment and orders new assessment in Cook County. Beginning of 2½ year delay in sending out tax bills on which schools depend. |
| April | William J. Raymer elected President of Board of Education. |
| | William Hale Thompson (Republican) elected Mayor after campaign attacking McAndrew. New Board members appointed pledge to dismiss McAndrew. |
| | Association of Commerce sponsors Citizens Public Education Commission--"best elements" seeking to protect schools against politics. |
| | Elementary Teachers Union established. |
| May | Raymer resigns and J. Lewis Coath becomes Board President. |
| August | McAndrew suspended by a 6 to 5 vote of the Board of Education on charges of insubordination. |
| September | Long hearings on McAndrew begin. McAndrew soon walks out. |
| 1928 | |
| March | Charges against McAndrew sustained by 9-2 vote. His ouster ordered. |
| May | H. Wallace Caldwell becomes Board President. |
| June | McAndrew's term expires. Board charges dropped and he drops suit against Board. William J. Bogan elected Superintendent in an atmosphere of general harmony. |
| November | Loss of revenue due to uncollectable taxes creates a deficit in teachers' salary fund. Payment of other bills stopped or delayed. |
| | Bogan develops Citizens Advisory Committee; Montefiore School for Maladjusted Boys established. |
| 1929 | Tax anticipation warrants sold in 1928 not paid because tax bills not sent out in 1928 due to reassessment. Bankers purchase only $20,000,000 in warrants on 1929 taxes and only at 6% interest with a stipulated due date. This was only enough to pay teachers' salaries for 8 months. |
| | Board of Education (to increase revenues and therefore borrowing power) secures a tax rate increase from .96% to 1.47%. But no tax bills are sent out in 1929 either. Other local governments as well as the Board are short of revenue. |
| October | Stock market crash. Chicago especially hard hit due to extensive involvement of banks with Insull securities. |

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| 1929 | Playground Teachers Union established. |
| 1930<br>January | First payless payday for teachers, only 9 paydays on time in next four years. |
| | Reassessment reduces valuation of property in Chicago by $600 million. |
| | Two years' tax bills finally sent out at the same time, a large part of which was never collected. Tax strike promoted by local homeowners' organizations and other groups. |
| | The school budget reaches $100,000,000 for the first time. Increasing amounts for debt service, reaching 28% of budget by 1934. |
| | Enrollment still increasing. |
| | School Clerks Union established. |
| June | A special session of the legislature meets to help local governments with financial problems. A bond issue for a working cash fund authorized plus tax increases to pay it, but concessions are secured: a budget law enacted; restrictions prevent bond issue proceeds from being used to increase current standards of expenditure. |
| | 26 elementary schools now 85% or more Negro. |
| July | Lewis E. Myers succeeds Caldwell as Board President. |
| | Joint Conference of high school, elementary and playground unions (without Teachers Federation) formed. |
| 1931 | Tax strike gains momentum. Taxpayers' associations urge nonpayment of taxes, seeking help from the legislature to "fund" 1929 and 1930 taxes through a bond issue. |
| | Truant Officers Union established. |
| April | Anton J. Cermak becomes Mayor, succeeding Thompson. |
| | School budget cut by $2,000,000; enrollment reaches peak of 547,057. |
| July | Teachers offered payment in scrip which many refuse to accept. Some payment made in tax warrants. |
| October | Board orders Strayer report to suggest economies. |
| November | A special session of the legislature passes (1) new assessment machinery; (2) a state income tax; (3) partial "funding" of one year's taxes. Teachers' organizations active in support of income tax. |

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| 1932 | |
| January | To save money, 10% monthly deducted from all school salaries of $4000 or less and 20% from salaries over $4000. School term cut by two weeks. |
| | Delays in actual salary payments continue. |
| March | School budget cut $17,000,000 below 1931. Night school, summer school and other special functions curtailed. |
| June | Strayer report submitted to Board, with certain recommendations for economy and administrative reorganization, many of which were not effected. |
| | A Citizens' Committee on Public Expenditures, headed by Fred Sargent persuades the banks and investment houses to reduce their purchases of tax warrants below the legal level; then the Committee tells the Board of Education (and other local governments) how much they may appropriate. |
| July | School budget reduced another $15,000,000 partly by shortening the school year. |
| | Voluntary Emergency Committee of Teachers formed to seek remedies for financial crisis only, headed by John Fewkes. |
| | The courts declare the state income tax unconstitutional. |
| | Teachers form Joint Conference of Principals and Teachers, including all teacher organizations except Teachers Federation. |
| 1933 | |
| January | The budget for 1933 is reduced another $12,000,000. Salaries reduced 15% and appropriations for new buildings and sites eliminated. Number of portable classrooms is 619. The legislature passes the Retailers' Occupation Tax after the first sales tax measure is declared illegal, but schools get no money from it until 1934. |
| | "A Century of Progress" Exposition opens on Chicago's lake front. |
| February | Orville J. Taylor succeeds Lewis Myers as President of the Board of Education. |
| | Mayor Cermak assassinated in Florida. |
| March | Franklin Delano Roosevelt takes office as President. Banks close for a week and many fail. |
| April | Edward J. Kelly elected Mayor by the City Council. He appoints the Chicago Recovery Administration to aid in the solution of the city's fiscal problems with a real estate man, Newton Farr, at its head. |
| | School bond issues refunded at 6%, teachers being paid in warrants. |

1933

May Mayor Kelly appoints five new Board members, including James B. McCahey. Two were coal dealers, none had attended college, only one had graduated from high school. At the next meeting McCahey is elected president, succeeding Taylor. He will continue as president until April, 1946.

Governor Horner calls a State Conference on Taxation and Education.

July Board of Education passes program of drastic cuts:

1. abolishes junior high schools
2. abolishes Crane Junior College
3. drastically cuts physical education, kindergartens, music, and guidance programs
4. assigns each principal to two schools, others returned to classrooms
5. orders closing of Parental School (illegal)
6. eliminates manual training and household arts from elementary schools
7. 1300 teachers sent back to Normal School for an indefinite period

July 12 First planning meeting of teachers and citizens' groups to protest cuts.

July 16 Teachers' and citizens' groups mobilized, 40 organizations meet at City Club, called by Mrs. Flagler (state PTA president). Form Citizens Save Our Schools Committee.

July 21 Giant mass meeting at Chicago Stadium attended by 25,000, denounce cuts. No prominent businessman appears. Chicago Federation of Labor opposes cuts and helps teacher protest.

North Central Association warns Board of possible disaccreditation of high schools.

October 384,206 persons on the Chicago relief rolls or 12 percent of the total city population. Rents fall drastically.

1934

January Civil Works Administration begins hiring unemployed teachers to conduct adult education classes and other projects.

School budget reduces appropriation for instruction from $34,318,069 to $29,022,924. Enrollment down 1%.

February A special session of the legislature increases the State Distributive Fund slightly and diverts some gas tax money for education, but gives no substantial help to schools.

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| 1934 | |
| June | Congress authorizes loans to school systems by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. |
| July | Supreme Court affirms right of Board to issue bonds and to mortgage school lands. |
| August | RFC loans Board $22,300,000 secured by school lands. Teachers are paid up to date. |
| | PWA funds enable Board to resume building program. |
| September | Junior Colleges reopen at three locations (Hirsch, Wright, Herzl). High school enrollment increases 8,000 with no new teachers. High school libraries improved under North Central threat. |
| | Civil Works Educational Service reorganized as Federal Emergency Education Program. |
| November | Special session of the legislature continues sales tax, guaranteeing $10,500,000 to schools of which Chicago gets one-third; 88% of school revenue still from the property tax. Controversy over teachers' loyalty oaths; not approved at this time. |
| December | RFC sells its Chicago school bonds to Chicago banks. |
| 1935 | |
| February | An Illinois Educational Commission instituted by the legislature to make recommendation on school finance. |
| April | Edward J. Kelly elected Mayor at regular election. |
| | North Central Association warns Board on high school teaching load. |
| | State Supreme Court declares 1933 school bond issue to redeem unpaid tax warrants unconstitutional - some have never been paid, a black mark on school's credit rating. |
| May | Harold Ickes at a great mass meeting sponsored by teachers and Citizens Schools Committee defends modern education against reaction - only Mrs. Hefferan present from Board of Education. |
| July | Board of Education suddenly gets law passed cutting the emeritus pension to a flat $500 and reducing compulsory retirement age to 65. |
| | Principals and college teachers gradually reassigned. |
| November | William H. Johnson made Assistant Superintendent of Schools. Bogan disregarded by Board. Johnson conducting tutoring classes for principals' exam. |

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| 1936 | |
| March | Superintendent Bogan dies. |
| April | William H. Johnson elected Superintendent despite protests from civic groups. |
| July | *Daily News* raises questions about school board textbook purchases and the FBI conducts an investigation. No indictments. |
| | Johnson repudiates Bogan's promise to 80 teaching interns that they could take high school certificate examination on completion of their programs. Butler Laughlin, President of Chicago Normal College protests. He is transferred to Principal of Lindblom High School, with a salary reduction of $1800. |
| September | Written portion of a principals' examination given for the first time in many years. Raymond Cook scores in top ten. |
| | High schools comply with minimum North Central requirements. |
| | Johnson administration supporters seek unsuccessfully to secure control of the Chicago Division of the Illinois Education Association. |
| 1937 | |
| March 10 | William McCoy (opponent of administration) transferred from Bowen High School principalship to Beidler elementary. |
| March and April | Orals given for the Principals' exam. 700 candidates take exam; 155 receive certificates of whom 122 prepared by Johnson. He is only member of Board of Examiners to take part in orals, and is charged with using his influence in the results. Raymond Cook and others who scored high in written examination fail. |
| | Chicago Teachers' Union formed from five teacher organizations. |
| October | Raymond Cook transferred from Chicago Normal College to Hyde Park High school. |
| | Suits brought over principals' exam, with backing of Teachers' Union. |
| 1938 | |
| April | Kelly reappoints McCahey to second 5-year term on Board. |
| | Democratic party split in primaries (Horner vs. Kelly). Horner group assails school record of Kelly and McCahey. |
| | Two members of oral board in an affidavit denounce procedures followed in 1937 examination. |

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| 1939 | |
| February | Chicago Normal College becomes Chicago Teachers College. Raymond Cook reinstated after a civic campaign. |
| | Mayor Kelly appoints Advisory Committee to make recommendations for Board of Education in a pre-election maneuver to heal party split. |
| April | Mayor Kelly re-elected. |
| | First open protests against inadequate facilities in Negro schools (Earl Dickerson in City Council, Foster of Urban League, Citizens Schools Committee). Negro school population (1940) 50,000, white population 517,000. |
| June | Advisory Committee given no authority--several members resign (Charlotte Carr, Frank Freemen, Lester Selig). |
| July | James Weber Linn who sponsored appointment of Advisory Committee dies. |
| July 11 | Statement by Frank Freeman, Chicago Daily News, on Mayor's Advisory Committee. |
| 1940 | |
| April | Superintendent Johnson appointed to second 4-year term. |
| | Chicago Teachers College liberal curriculum strongly commended by North Central Association and American Association of Teachers' Colleges. |
| | Board of Education asks Association of Commerce to study business activities of its educational fund. |
| December | Budget hearing packed with Board employees to circumvent civic groups organized to testify by Citizens Schools Committee. |
| | Principals' Club taken over by Johnson supporters. |
| 1941 | |
| April | Efforts to set up independent Board of Examiners fail in legislature. |
| 1942 | |
| January | Mrs. Olive Bruner transferred without notice, from Spalding School for Crippled Children to Jahn and replaced by Celestine Igoe. |
| | A city councilman's daughter receives a teaching certificate after failing 15 hours at Chicago Teachers College. |
| | Ten months school term, and part of salary cuts restored. |

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| 1942 | |
| December | Butler Laughlin transferred without notice from Lindblom (7000 enrollment) to Harper (1400). At a mass meeting, 29 civic groups protest. |
| | Preliminary Griffenhagen report (sponsored by Association of Commerce and Civic Federation) recommends some administrative and clerical jobs eliminated. |
| 1943 | |
| January | School budget restores last salary cuts. |
| April | Kelly re-elected, despite opposition of many civic groups. |
| | Final Griffenhagen report urges change in law to permit retention of a highly trained school administrator as executive officer of the school system. Deplores exercise of executive authority by Board President. |
| May | McCahey re-appointed to third 5-year term. |
| August | Twenty-one faculty members at Chicago Teachers College dismissed and 21 others transferred. Raymond Cook sent to a second grade class at Fuller elementary school, after he helped prevent Johnson's election as president of NEA. |
| 1944 | |
| January | Manley high school turned over to Navy. Its principal (Crofts) denounced and demoted when he protests. |
| | Johnson announces elimination of liberal course at Chicago Teachers' College and restriction to "professional education." John DeBoer transferred after protest. |
| | Eight groups asked the NEA to investigate various aspects of the administration of the Chicago Schools. |
| February | Mayor's Committee on Race Relations calls school record on race poor after conference - least satisfactory of basic city services for Negroes. |
| April | William H. Johnson given third term as Superintendent. |
| October | National Commission for the Defense of Democracy of the NEA agrees to investigate Chicago schools. Begins investigation in November. |
| 1945 | |
| May | Report on Certain Personnel Practices in the Chicago Public Schools by the Commission for the Defense of Democracy of the NEA published. Widely studied and circulated by civic groups, especially Citizens Schools Committee. |
| | Conflict over NEA report develops in the PTA. |

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| 1945 | Investigation started of Johnson's membership in NEA. |
| 1946 | |
| January | William H. Johnson expelled from membership in NEA. |
| | State Board of PTA says action on NEA report not a matter for Parent-Teacher Associations. Conflict increases. |
| March | Public hearings in the City Council on the NEA report. Subcommittee report absolves Board and the Superintendent of any wrong-doing. Much public and newspaper agitation, especially by Sun and Daily News. |
| | North Central Association warns Mayor that failure to eliminate political interference with Board of Education will result in de-accreditation of Chicago high schools. |
| April | Mayor Kelly appoints Heald Committee to study and make recommendations with regard to the Chicago Public schools. |
| May | At PTA state convention authorization given for a delegate Parent-Teacher body in Chicago "to act on Chicago Affairs." |
| June | Heald Committee reports, recommends screening commission on school board nominations, superintendent as single head of school system, independent Board of Examiners. |
| | William H. Johnson resigns the next day. James Cassell acting superintendent. Johnson made President of the Junior College--a newly created office. |
| | Mayor appoints first Advisory Commission on School Board Nominations. Some school board members resign and six new members are appointed. |
| October | Committee begins work to seek new superintendent. |
| | North Central Association repeats warning. Insists on departure of McCahey, authority for superintendent. |
| | Board now holds meetings for discussion in public. |
| December | McCahey promises to resign in April, 1947. |
| 1947 | |
| February | Kelly does not run for re-election as mayor. Kennelley nominated. |
| March | Chicago Region of the Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers organized. |
| April | Kennelley elected, pledges to keep hands off schools. McCahey resigns. Charles J. Whipple becomes president of Board. |

1947

April — Broyles Commission, established by Illinois legislature to combat subversive activities, singles out schools for investigation.

May — Otis Law amended to provide for a general superintendent as chief administrator instead of co-equal with business manager. Bill supported by teachers' organizations, Citizens Schools Committee, Board of Education, Civic Federation, but opposed by labor and most particularly by School Engineers' Union.

June — Bill to create an independent Board of Examiners with apparently similar support is defeated. Some teacher groups oppose it, but it dies chiefly for lack of political support.

August — Herold B. Hunt, Superintendent of Schools in Kansas City, becomes the first general superintendent of Chicago Public Schools.

Board asks Griffenhagen Associates to recommend administrative improvements.

September — Enrollment begins to climb, now 357,174 elementary and high school.

1948 — Hunt and the Board take steps to correct abuses of the past.

1. Some of the opponents of Johnson-McCahey regime are appointed to top positions: i.e., Raymond Cook to Dean of Chicago Teachers College; Edward E. Keener to new position, Assistant Superintendent in charge of Personnel; Butler Laughlin, Assistant Superintendent in charge of high schools.
2. A principals' examination, prepared by an outside agency is administered.
3. Examinations for teaching jobs are opened to all applicants, including non-residents of Chicago; Teachers College graduates to take the exams too. Chicago Teachers College gives own entrance examinations.

For the first time in years, a shortage of teachers develops at all levels. School enrollments climbing.

On recommendation of Griffenhagen Associates, administrative reforms instituted.

A health program and a human relations program are begun.

A study of school boundaries instituted in cooperation with a University of Chicago group, Committee on Education, Training and Research in Race Relations, headed by Louis Wirth.

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| 1949 | Curriculum revision instituted. |
| | The merit system for civil service employees strengthened and the number of temporary employees much reduced (with cooperation of Civil Service Commission under Kennelley and Hurley). |
| 1950 | Negro population of Chicago reaches 492,265. Negroes now constitute 13.6% of school enrollment. |
| | An elected Teachers' Council to advise the Superintendent is instituted, but the Chicago Teachers' Union members who have a majority on it, vote it out of existence. |
| May | William B. Traynor succeeds Whipple as President, Board of Education. |
| | In-service training intensified and broadened. |
| September | 5,534 elementary pupils on double shift. |
| 1951 | The first $50,000,000 school building bond issue legislation is passed. |
| | Legislature lowers Educational Fund tax ceiling on behest of Civic Federation from $1.20 per $100 to $1.10. |
| | City Junior College becomes legally a part of common school system but without aid from state. |
| | Chicago Teachers College gets first state aid ($400 per pupil). |
| | Considerable public controversy over schools developed nationally. |
| | A new Teachers' Loyalty Oath Campaign begins. |
| | Martin Kennelley re-elected Mayor. |
| April | Anonymous attacks on Hunt appear in some quarters. Tribune attacks civics curriculum. |
| | $50,000,000 school building bond issue overwhelmingly approved in referendum. |
| September | School population (elementary) still increasing. Class loads and double shifts increase. 9,152 on doubleshift. |
| 1952 | School budget $140,292,720; 75% from property taxes, 12½% from state aid. |
| April | Referendum for Lighted School House program with increase in playground tax adopted. |

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| 1953<br>March | Hunt announces resignation effective August 1, 1953. Board appoints committee to seek new Superintendent. |
| | Legislature appropriates $5,000 to study 4 year branch of University of Illinois in Chicago (opened 1965). |
| | Broyles bills for textbook evaluation fail to pass. |
| | Move to raise ceiling on Chicago educational fund tax fails. |
| | Chicago Teachers College now completely supported by state. |
| | Another attempt to reform Board of Examiners fails. |
| September | Benjamin C. Willis assumes post of General Superintendent amid general acclaim. In October he tells the PTA that his principal problems are rising enrollments and physical plant needs. He asks for PTA help in teacher recruitment and increased tax and state aid funds. |
| 1954 | University of Chicago professor lists chief school problems as rising enrollments, finances, quality of educational personnel and educational programs. Integration or racial problems are not mentioned. |
| | Supreme Court outlaws school segregation in Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka. |
| | PTA publishes report "School Needs of Chicago's Children," indicating inequalities in classloads and physical plant. |
| | Civic groups, led by PTA and Citizens Schools Committee, organize School Crisis Council to get increased financial support for schools in 1955 legislature. |
| September | 11,412 in 309 classes on double shift. |
| 1955 | Legislature authorizes second $50,000,000 school building bond issue; $1.20 tax ceiling restored, state aid increased. |
| April | Second bond issue referendum passed by large vote. |
| | Sargent Shriver elected President of Board of Education. |
| | Richard J. Daley elected Mayor. |
| December | Board approves Superintendent's plan for District re-organization. |
| 1956 | Chicago average class size 37.25 compared to 32.9 average for cities over 500,000. |
| 1957 | Legislature approves Chicago Board of Education bills for increase in educational fund tax rate to $1.25, increase of 2¢ in recreation tax. |

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| 1957 | Superintendent Willis elected to second 4 year term. |
| 1958 | Third $50,000,000 bond issue approved. |
| 1959 | Daley re-elected Mayor of Chicago. |
| 1960 | Thomas Marshall becomes President of the Board of Education, serves 3 months. |
| | Fourth $50,000,000 bond issue approved. |
| 1961 | William S. Caples becomes Board President. |
| April | Great Cities Program for School Improvement organized by 13 big city school systems at Philadelphia with Dr. Willis as President. |
| June | Chicago NAACP accuses Superintendent Willis of intensifying school segregation. |
| | Superintendent Willis appointed to third 4-year term. |
| September | Suits brought challenging "de facto" segregation in Chicago public schools. |
| | 33,401 elementary pupils on double shift. |
| | High school enrollments begin to grow. |
| 1962 | Literacy classes established for Public Aid recipients. |
| | Vocational Training courses begun under National Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. |
| | Clair Roddewig becomes Board President. |
| 1963 | |
| April | R. J. Daley re-elected Mayor of Chicago. |
| May | Committee of Dr. R. J. Havighurst, Dr. Alonzo Grace and Superintendent Willis asked to survey Chicago Public Schools. |
| July | Sit-in conducted in Board of Education offices. |
| September | Double shift ended in elementary schools. |
| | Demonstrations oppose erection of mobile school units in Negro neighborhood. |
| | Out of court settlement of "de facto segregation suit" announced on basis of school board agreement for outside study of segregation in Chicago Schools (Hauser Report). |

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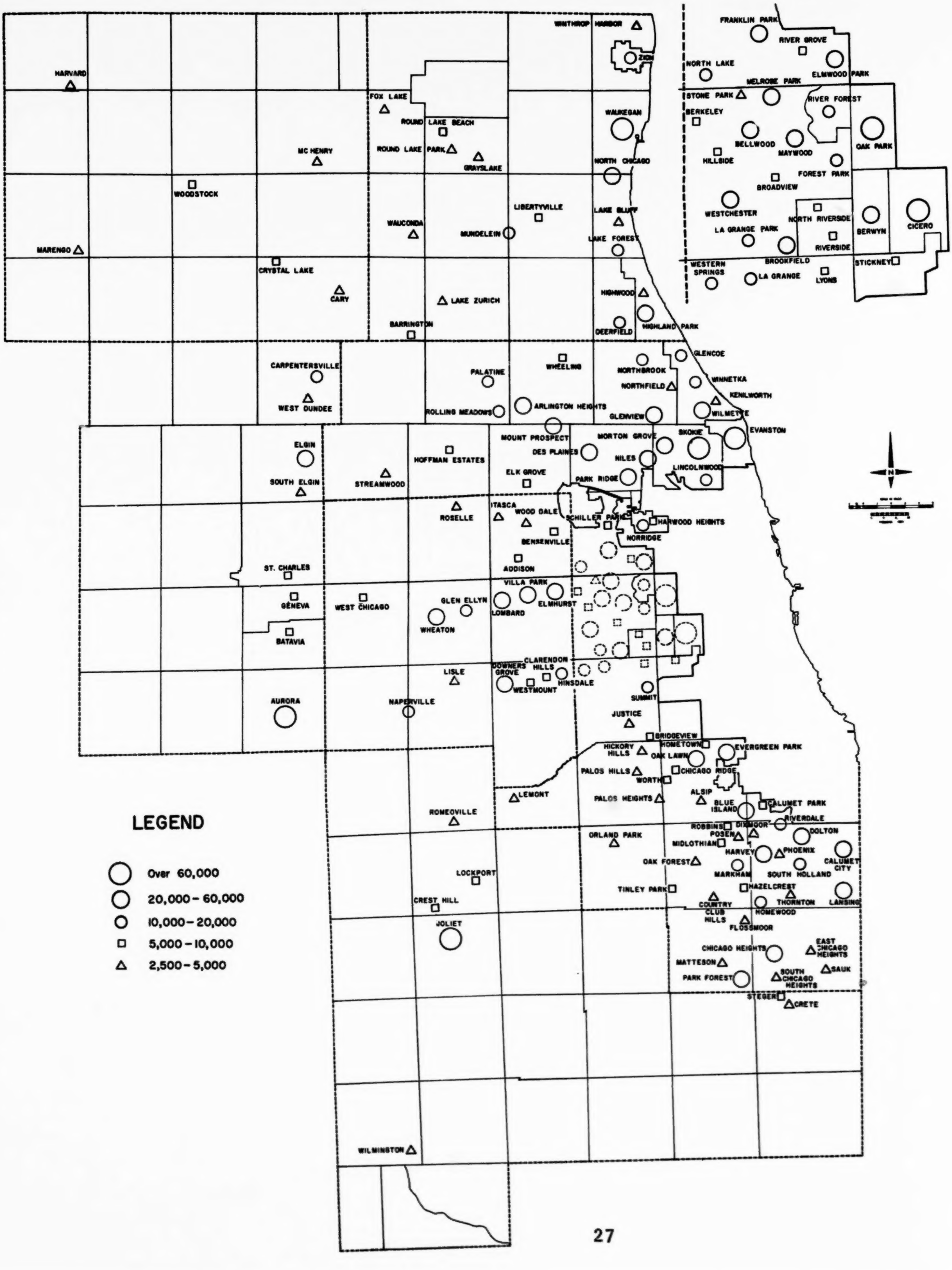
| 1963 | |
| October | Superintendent Willis resigns, then withdraws resignation. |
| 1964 | |
| March | Hauser Report on integration submitted to Board of Education. |
| May | Frank Whiston elected President of Board of Education. |
| December | Havighurst Survey "The Public Schools of Chicago" submitted to Board of Education. |
| 1965 | |
| May | Superintendent Willis re-elected for fourth term; agrees to resign in December, 1966. |
| 1966 | First collective bargaining election held for Chicago Teachers - won by Chicago Teachers Union, AF of L. |
| August | Superintendent Willis retires. |
| September | James F. Redmond new Superintendent of Chicago Schools. |

NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS METROPOLITAN AREA

# POPULATION OF MUNICIPALITIES: 1960

Figure 2



WINTHROP HARBOR
ZION
HARVARD
FOX LAKE
ROUND LAKE BEACH
ROUND LAKE PARK
GRAYSLAKE
WAUKEGAN
NORTH CHICAGO
MC HENRY
WOODSTOCK
LIBERTYVILLE
WAUCONDA
MUNDELEIN
LAKE BLUFF
LAKE FOREST
MARENGO
CRYSTAL LAKE
CARY
LAKE ZURICH
HIGHWOOD
HIGHLAND PARK
DEERFIELD
BARRINGTON
GLENCOE
CARPENTERSVILLE
PALATINE
WHEELING
NORTHBROOK
NORTHFIELD
WINNETKA
KENILWORTH
WEST DUNDEE
ROLLING MEADOWS
ARLINGTON HEIGHTS
GLENVIEW
WILMETTE
EVANSTON
MOUNT PROSPECT
MORTON GROVE
SKOKIE
ELGIN
HOFFMAN ESTATES
DES PLAINES
NILES
LINCOLNWOOD
SOUTH ELGIN
STREAMWOOD
ELK GROVE
PARK RIDGE
ROSELLE
ITASCA
WOOD DALE
SCHILLER PARK
HARWOOD HEIGHTS
NORRIDGE
BENSENVILLE
ST. CHARLES
ADDISON
VILLA PARK
ELMHURST
GENEVA
WEST CHICAGO
GLEN ELLYN
LOMBARD
WHEATON
BATAVIA
CLARENDON HILLS
DOWNERS GROVE
HINSDALE
WESTMOUNT
LISLE
SUMMIT
AURORA
NAPERVILLE
JUSTICE
BRIDGEVIEW
HOMETOWN
HICKORY HILLS
OAK LAWN
EVERGREEN PARK
PALOS HILLS
CHICAGO RIDGE
WORTH
LEMONT
PALOS HEIGHTS
ALSIP
BLUE ISLAND
CALUMET PARK
ROMEOVILLE
RIVERDALE
ROBBINS
DIXMOOR
POSEN
DOLTON
ORLAND PARK
MIDLOTHIAN
HARVEY
PHOENIX
CALUMET CITY
OAK FOREST
MARKHAM
SOUTH HOLLAND
LOCKPORT
TINLEY PARK
HAZELCREST
THORNTON
LANSING
CREST HILL
COUNTRY CLUB HILLS
HOMEWOOD
FLOSSMOOR
JOLIET
EAST CHICAGO HEIGHTS
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MATTESON
SAUK
PARK FOREST
SOUTH CHICAGO HEIGHTS
STEGER
CRETE
WILMINGTON
FRANKLIN PARK
RIVER GROVE
NORTH LAKE
ELMWOOD PARK
MELROSE PARK
STONE PARK
RIVER FOREST
BERKELEY
OAK PARK
BELLWOOD
MAYWOOD
HILLSIDE
FOREST PARK
BROADVIEW
WESTCHESTER
NORTH RIVERSIDE
BERWYN
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○ Over 60,000
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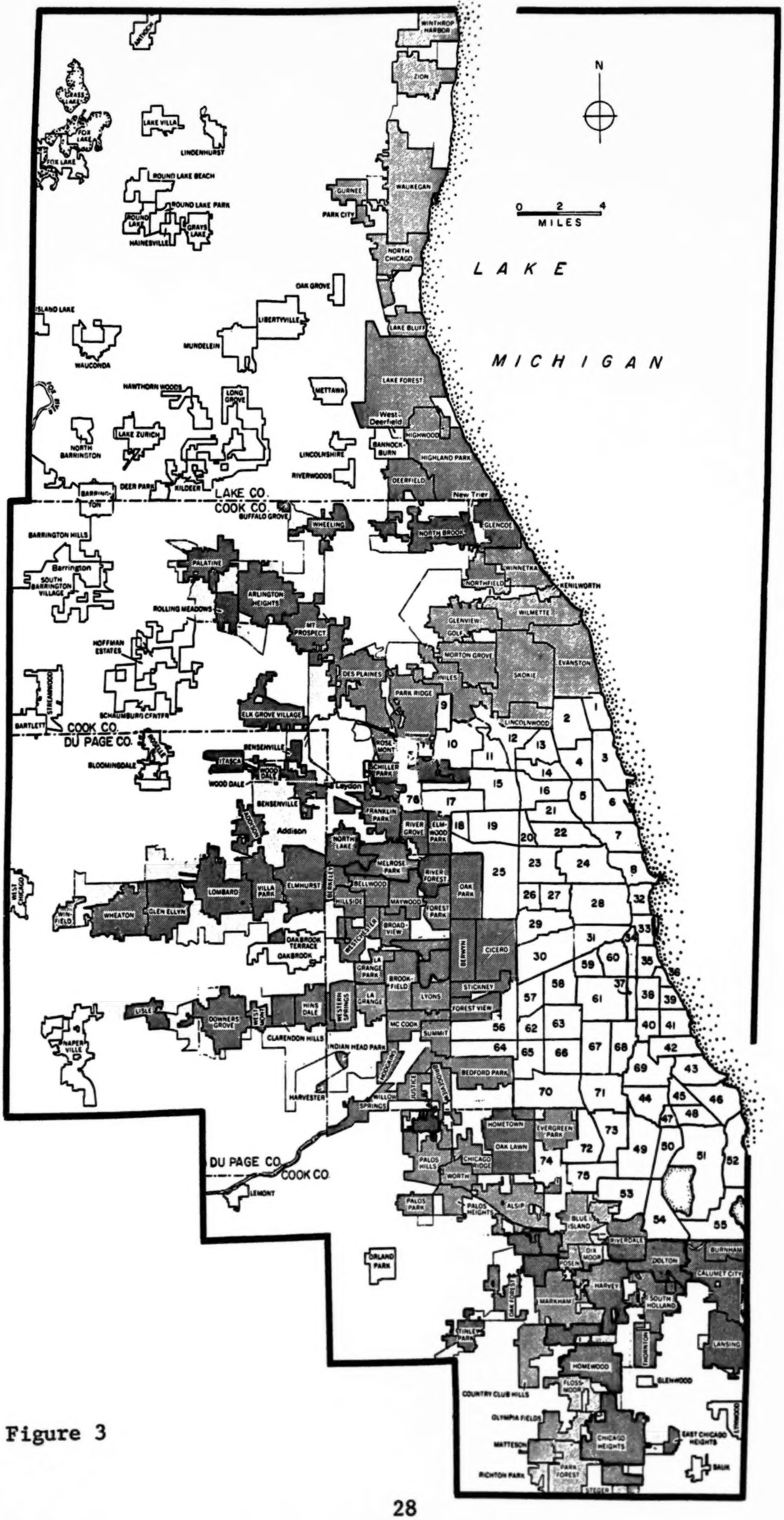
○ 10,000 - 20,000
□ 5,000 - 10,000
△ 2,500 - 5,000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DU PAGE CO.
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LINDENHURST
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METTAWA
HAWTHORN WOODS
LONG GROVE
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NORTH BARRINGTON
West Deerfield
HIGHWOOD
BANNOCKBURN
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RIVERWOODS
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GLENCOE
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LINCOLNWOOD
BARTLETT
ROSELLE
BENSENVILLE
BLOOMINGDALE
ITASCA
WOOD DALE
ROSEMONT
SCHILLER PARK
Leydon
ADDISON
Addison
FRANKLIN PARK
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LOMBARD
VILLA PARK
ELMHURST
BERKELEY
BELLWOOD
HILLSIDE
MAYWOOD
FOREST PARK
WINFIELD
WHEATON
GLEN ELLYN
WESTCHESTER
BROADVIEW
OAKBROOK TERRACE
OAKBROOK
LA GRANGE PARK
BERWYN
CICERO
BROOKFIELD
STICKNEY
LYONS
LISLE
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WESTMONT
HINSDALE
WESTERN SPRINGS
LA GRANGE
FOREST VIEW
NAPERVILLE
CLARENDON HILLS
MC COOK
SUMMIT
INDIAN HEAD PARK
HODGKINS
BEDFORD PARK
JUSTICE
BRIDGEVIEW
HARVESTER
WILLOW SPRINGS
HOMETOWN
EVERGREEN PARK
OAK LAWN
PALOS HILLS
CHICAGO RIDGE
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LEMONT
PALOS PARK
PALOS HEIGHTS
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RIVERDALE
BURNHAM
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MARKHAM
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TINLEY PARK
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FLOSSMOOR
COUNTRY CLUB HILLS
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OLYMPIA FIELDS
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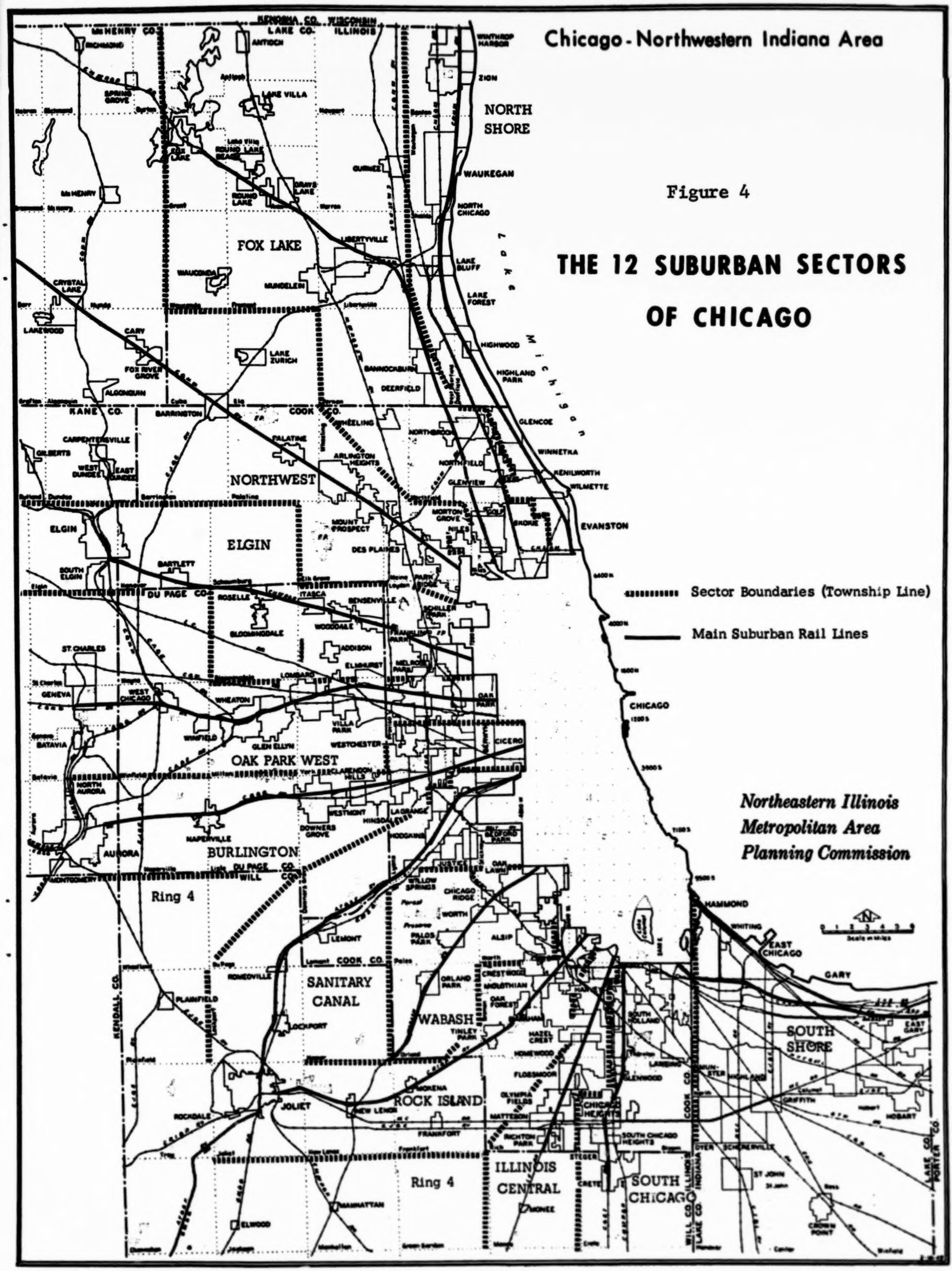
Figure 3



Chicago-Northwestern Indiana Area

Figure 4

THE 12 SUBURBAN SECTORS OF CHICAGO

Sector Boundaries (Township Line)
Main Suburban Rail Lines
Northeastern Illinois Metropolitan Area Planning Commission
NORTH SHORE
FOX LAKE
NORTHWEST
ELGIN
OAK PARK WEST
BURLINGTON
SANITARY CANAL
WABASH
ROCK ISLAND
ILLINOIS CENTRAL
SOUTH CHICAGO
SOUTH SHORE
Ring 4
Ring 4
Lake Michigan
KENOSHA CO. WISCONSIN
LAKE CO. ILLINOIS
McHENRY CO.
KANE CO.
COOK CO.
DU PAGE CO.
WILL
KENDALL CO.
WILL CO.
LAKE CO.
COOK CO.
INDIANA
LAKE CO.
PORTER CO.
ANTIOCH
RICHMOND
ZION
WINTHROP HARBOR
LAKE VILLA
SPRING GROVE
FOX LAKE
ROUND LAKE BEACH
ROUND LAKE
GRAYS LAKE
GURNEE
WAUKEGAN
NORTH CHICAGO
LIBERTYVILLE
WAUCONDA
MUNDELEIN
LAKE BLUFF
LAKE FOREST
CRYSTAL LAKE
LAKEWOOD
CARY
LAKE ZURICH
FOX RIVER GROVE
HIGHWOOD
HIGHLAND PARK
BANNOCKBURN
DEERFIELD
ALGONQUIN
BARRINGTON
GLENCOE
WHEELING
PALATINE
NORTHBROOK
WINNETKA
KENILWORTH
WILMETTE
CARPENTERSVILLE
GILBERTS
WEST DUNDEE
EAST DUNDEE
ARLINGTON HEIGHTS
NORTHFIELD
GLENVIEW
MORTON GROVE
SKOKIE
NILES
EVANSTON
ELGIN
MOUNT PROSPECT
DES PLAINES
SOUTH ELGIN
BARTLETT
ROSELLE
ITASCA
BENSENVILLE
SCHILLER PARK
FRANKLIN PARK
WOODDALE
BLOOMINGDALE
ADDISON
ELMHURST
MELROSE PARK
ST. CHARLES
LOMBARD
GENEVA
WEST CHICAGO
WHEATON
OAK PARK
VILLA PARK
BATAVIA
WINFIELD
GLEN ELLYN
WESTCHESTER
CICERO
CHICAGO
NORTH AURORA
CLARENDON HILLS
HINSDALE
WESTMONT
LA GRANGE
DOWNERS GROVE
HODGKINS
NAPERVILLE
AURORA
BEDFORD PARK
JUSTICE
OAK LAWN
MONTGOMERY
WILLOW SPRINGS
CHICAGO RIDGE
WORTH
PALOS PARK
LEMONT
ALSIP
HAMMOND
WHITING
EAST CHICAGO
GARY
ROMEOVILLE
PLAINFIELD
ORLAND PARK
CRESTWOOD
MIDLOTHIAN
OAK FOREST
HARVEY
SOUTH HOLLAND
LOCKPORT
TINLEY PARK
HAZEL CREST
HOMEWOOD
LANSING
MUNSTER
HIGHLAND
EAST GARY
FLOSSMOOR
GLENWOOD
MOKENA
NEW LENOX
JOLIET
OLYMPIA FIELDS
MATTESON
CHICAGO HEIGHTS
GRIFFITH
HOBART
ROCKDALE
FRANKFORT
RICHTON PARK
SOUTH CHICAGO HEIGHTS
STEGER
DYER
SCHERERVILLE
CRETE
ST. JOHN
MONEE
MANHATTAN
ELWOOD
CROWN POINT

## Demographic Development of Chicago and the Metropolitan Area

The City of Chicago occupies a part of Cook County and has a unit school district which is co-terminous with the city. The standard statistical metropolitan area consists of six counties, Cook plus DuPage, Lake, Kane, McHenry, and Will.

Until 1920 the City of Chicago was superior to its suburban area on all the socioeconomic indices that are used as measures of social status. The city had a higher median educational level and higher average occupational status. While there were a few suburbs to the north and west of Chicago which were superior in socioeconomic characteristics, most of the cities and towns in the metropolitan area had lower average socioeconomic status than the big city.

The city grew rapidly from a population of 1,700,000 in 1900 to 3,376,000 in 1930. Growth was slow from 1930 to 1950. Then there was a drop in population from 1950 to 1960. Meanwhile, the suburbs were growing rapidly, especially after 1920, and largely through increasing numbers of middle-income families, many of whom moved out from the city.

By 1940, the suburban area slightly exceeded the City of Chicago in two important characteristics--the median adult educational level and the Socioeconomic Ratio, a crude ratio of male white collar workers to manual workers. These comparisons are shown in Table I.

The decade after 1950 saw great changes in the relative socioeconomic levels of the central city and the suburbs, with the suburbs rapidly exceeding the city. At the same time, the non-white population of Chicago increased very rapidly after World War II.

There has been an increase of economic and racial segregation in Chicago, as in the other large cities of the country. There has also been some increase of economic and racial segregation in the suburban area, as will be demonstrated in the chapter on the suburban community of Bloom Township. The suburban socioeconomic structure has become complex, with a variety of suburban community types.

School enrollments reflected population changes, and they also reflected changes in the birth rate. There was a very low birth rate during the Depression, especially low from about 1932 to 1935. This was followed by a very high birth rate immediately after World War II, with a peak in 1947. The post-war birth rate remained high throughout the 1950's, and then decreased slightly in the 1960's. School-age population therefore was high until about 1935, then dropped to a low point in 1945-50, and then rose again to the highest numbers on record in the 1960's.

Table 1

## SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF CHICAGO AND SUBURBAN AREA 1940 - 1960.

| Population in Thousands | City of Chicago | | Suburban Area | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | White | Non-White | White | Non-White |
| 1920 | 2,702 | | 692 | |
| 1940 | 3,115 | 282 | 1,148 | 25 |
| 1950 | 3,112 | 509 | 1,512 | 45 |
| 1960 | 2,713 | 838 | 2,588 | 82 |
| 1965 | 2,579 | 980 | 2,980 | 113 |
| 1970 (est.) | 2,427 | 1,173 | 3,525 | 175 |
| 1980 (est.) | 2,234 | 1,540 | 4,499 | 347 |

| Median grade of school completed by adults 25 and over | City of Chicago | Suburban Area |
|---|---|---|
| 1940 | 8.5 | 8.9 |
| 1950 | 9.6 | 10.8 |
| 1960 | 10.0 | 12.1 |

| Socioeconomic Ratio* | City of Chicago | | Suburban Area |
|---|---|---|---|
| | White | Non-White | |
| 1940 | .75 | .17 | .77 |
| 1950 | .84 | .18 | .86 |
| 1960 | .82 | .25 | 1.28 |

* The socioeconomic ratio is an approximate ratio of male white-collar to manual workers.

## Growth of the Public Educational Systems of the Chicago Area

Enrollments in the public schools are primarily related to two factors, the birth rate which has fluctuated a good deal since 1920, and the population of the various school districts. The pattern of change in school enrollments is quite different for the suburban areas from the pattern for the city of Chicago.

Figure 4 and Table 2 show the pattern of school enrollment in the city of Chicago since 1925. Enrollment reached a peak in 1933-35, then dropped to a low point in 1947, due to a drastic decrease in the birth rate in the depression years. Enrollment then increased sharply and will continue to increase until about 1970, due to the high birth rates from the year 1947 on.

As Table 3 shows, the enrollment pattern was quite different for the suburban area. This area grew in population quite rapidly during the entire period from 1925 to 1965. Therefore there was no decrease of school enrollment after 1935, except for Will County, whose county seat, Joliet, did not grow rapidly during this period. Generally, suburban communities grew very rapidly after 1940, and this population growth offset the effect on school enrollment of a reduced birth rate in the 1930's.

All school enrollments rose very rapidly after 1955, with the suburban areas more than doubling in the ten years from 1955 to 1965, while the city of Chicago increased only 25 percent in school enrollment during this period.

## Table 2. TRUE MEMBERSHIP CHICAGO HIGH AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

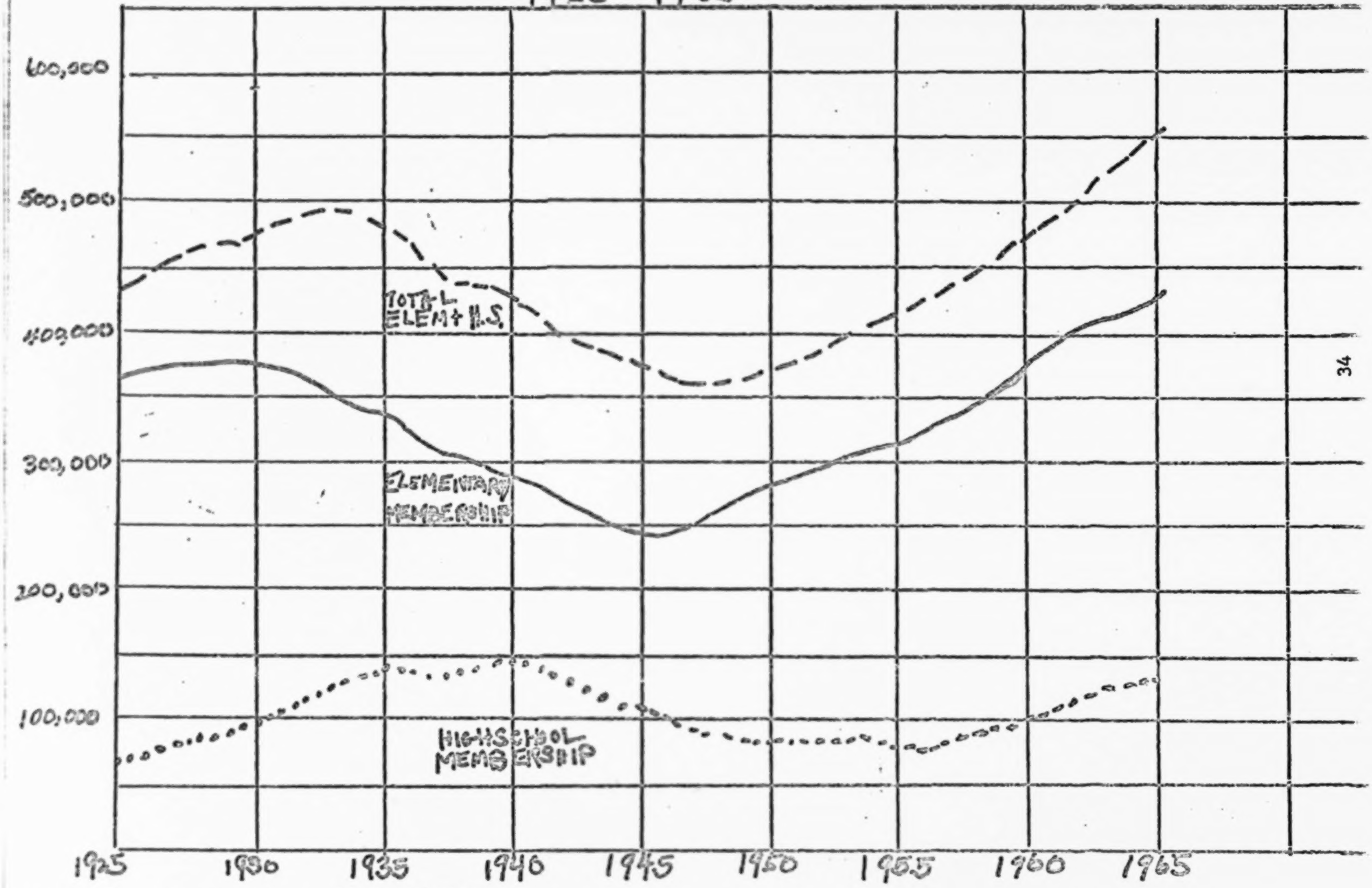
### 1925 through 1965

| Year | Elementary | High School[2] | Total | Year | Elementary | High School[2] | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1925 | 416,023 | 65,855 | 481,878 | 1946 | 278,123 | 111,452 | 389,575 |
| 1926 | 427,450 | 70,615 | 498,065 | 1947 | 289,223 | 103,971 | 393,194 |
| 1927 | 428,960 | 78,126 | 507,086 | 1948 | 292,989 | 97,294 | 300,283 |
| 1928 | 429,080 | 86,693 | 515,773 | 1949 | 293,142 | 96,296 | 389,438 |
| 1929 | 428,493 | 91,477 | 519,970 | 1950 | 294,877 | 96,048 | 390,925 |
| 1930 | 421,690 | 103,851 | 525,541 | 1951 | 306,838 | 95,092 | 401,930 |
| 1931 | 409,868 | 116,781 | 526,649 | 1952 | 319,585 | 94,815 | 414,400 |
| 1932 | 399,329 | 127,257 | 526,586 | 1953 | 330,852 | 92,852 | 423,704 |
| 1933 | 385,072 | 128,932 | 514,004 | 1954 | 342,245 | 93,574 | 435,819 |
| 1934 | 378,726 | 132,044 | 510,770 | 1955 | 352,206 | 93,271 | 445,477 |
| 1935 | 369,078 | 136,840 | 505,918 | 1956 | 367,285 | 96,777 | 464,062 |
| 1936 | 362,013 | 135,126 | 497,139 | 1957 | 374,258 | 103,095 | 477,353 |
| 1937 | 349,756 | 134,312 | 484,068 | 1958 | 386,020 | 104,013 | 490,033 |
| 1938 | 337,859 | 141,683 | 479,542 | 1959 | 403,656 | 102,888 | 506,684 |
| 1939 | 326,000 | 145,050 | 471,050 | 1960 | 410,204 | 108,025 | 513,092 |
| 1940 | 315,045 | 143,260 | 458,305 | 1961 | 400,322 | 117,261 | 508,347 |
| 1941 | 311,023 | 135,295 | 446,318 | 1962 | 414,347 | 135,672 | 531,608 |
| 1942 | 302,502 | 126,762 | 429,264 | 1963 | 417,115 | 140,121 | 552,787 |
| 1943 | 293,110 | 117,435 | 410,545 | 1964 | 426,752 | 144,100 | 566,873 |
| 1944 | 283,984 | 116,111 | 400,095 | 1965 | 439,414 | 140,310 | 588,004 |
| 1945 | 279,030 | 111,452 | 390,482 | | | | |

Note:
1. 1925-1940 figures are from annual report of the Supt. of Schools, 1941-1945.
2. Excludes continuation and apprentice schools.
3. Junior High membership allocated 7th and 8th to elementary, 9th to high schools.

Figure 5

CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS
TRUE MEMBERSHIP
1925 - 1965



SOURCE: FACTS AND FIGURES
CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS
1954 & SUBSEQUENT EDITIONS

Table 3. Enrollment in Public Schools of Chicago Metropolitan Area, 1925-65

Total enrollment in public elementary school districts in the Northeastern Illinois Metropolitan Area for decennial intervals by County. (Data are from the Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois).

| County | 1925 | 1935 | 1946(1) | 1955 | 1964(1) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cook | | | | | |
| Outside Chicago | 66,710 | 77,762 | 71,578 | 141,801 | 259,192 |
| Chicago | 421,872 | 380,108 | 279,030 | 342,245 | 417,153 |
| DuPage | 9,276 | 13,978 | 14,143 | 33,196 | 65,268 |
| Kane | 13,746 | 14,546 | 13,438 | 23,233 | 41,164 |
| Lake | 12,748 | 14,432 | 15,182 | 31,582 | 54,541 |
| McHenry | 5,287 | 4,625 | 4,874 | 8,836 | 14,541 |
| Will | 13,463 | 13,413 | 11,455 | 17,109 | 30,971 |
| Total | 543,112 | 518,864 | 409,680 | 598,002 | 882,830 |

Total enrollment in public secondary school districts in the Northeastern Illinois Metropolitan Area for decennial intervals, by County. (Data are from the Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois).

| County | 1925 | 1935 | 1946(1) | 1955 | 1964(1) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cook | | | | | |
| Outside Chicago | 14,714 | 32,769 | 34,012 | 41,527 | 103,067 |
| Chicago | 89,757(2) | 142,547 | 119,935 | 101,855 | 143,427 |
| DuPage | 2,107 | 5,649 | 6,607 | 9,211 | 23,515 |
| Kane | 4,154 | 6,548 | 6,115 | 6,503 | 13,191 |
| Lake | 2,515 | 5,829 | 6,240 | 9,146 | 21,050 |
| McHenry | 1,457 | 1,943 | 1,921 | 2,842 | 5,606 |
| Will | 2,782 | 5,348 | 4,693 | 5,136 | 10,738 |
| Total | 117,486 | 200,633 | 179,523 | 176,220 | 320,594 |

(1) Data are given for 1946 and 1964 because 1945 and 1965 are not available.
(2) These Chicago figures include continuation and apprentice schools.

# CHAPTER II. THE GOVERNMENT OF SCHOOLS AND THE MAKING OF SCHOOL POLICIES

## The City Government and The Board of Education

Since the establishment of the city of Chicago in 1937, the extent of control to be exercised by the mayor and city council over the public schools has been in question.

In the early days, the City Council controlled school tax funds and appointed school inspectors for local school districts who together formed the Board of Education. In 1872, the mayor was given power by the state legislature to appoint board members with the advice and consent of the council, without regard to districts, but the Council still held the taxing power, although the Board was given control of school lands. As the office of mayor of Chicago increased in importance, the mayor tended to think that the board members should be subject to his authority. Mayors who disapproved of the school policies of an existing board sought to make enough appointments to control a majority. Although the courts held in 1908 that the mayor did not have the power to remove legally appointed board members before the expiration of their terms, the prestige and political power of the mayors continued for many years to enable them by various means to secure enough resignations to exercise the control they desired.

The Otis Law of 1917 amending the Chicago school law strengthened the Board of Education vis-a-vis the city council by making the Board a "body politic and corporate" with power to maintain a system of free schools, to levy taxes and make appropriations for this purpose, and to exercise "general supervision and management of the public education and public school system of the city." The board members were still to be appointed by the mayor with the advice and consent of the council, but their numbers were reduced from twenty-one to eleven. Since this time the courts have held that the council has no choice but to approve the tax levy as legally set by the Board of Education and the council's power in school matters has been reduced to near zero. Until very recent years, even the power of the council to hold hearings on school board appointments has seldom been exercised, and only once in the years from 1917 to 1967 has the council refused confirmation of school board appointments--these were the first appointments made by Mayor William Hale Thompson under the new law in 1917.

The mayor, on the other hand, retained considerable power over the Board of Education at least until 1946. In setting the terms of board members at five years, the intent of the Otis Law, as Strayer pointed out, was "to provide for a continuing body not subject to the control of the mayor upon his election to office." But every mayor since 1917 has succeeded in appointing a majority of board members early in his term except Cermak, who died after two years in office (1931-1933).

Another effect of the Otis Law was to divide the executive authority in the public schools among three officials who reported independently to the Board of Education--a superintendent, a business manager, and an attorney.

The perhaps unintended result was to give considerable executive authority to the Board of Education and especially to its president, since this was the only level at which conflicts could be resolved. This situation was deplored by the Strayer Report in 1932, but became even more marked in the years from 1933 to 1946 during which there was only one President of the Board of Education, James B. McCahey, and one mayor, his close political ally, Edward J. Kelly.

From 1917 to 1946, mayors of Chicago used their political power over the school board in various ways. William Hale Thompson between 1917 and 1923 appointed mostly political cronies to the board, and in 1919, at the mayor's behest, they managed to force the superintendent of schools (Chadsey) out of office and put in their own choice (Mortenson). In Thompson's second term, 1919-1923, a series of scandals developed in school business operations, culminating in the indictment of a former Board president and vice-president, the school attorney, and more than twenty of Thompson's political organization. As a result Thompson did not run for mayor in 1923 and a reform Democrat, Dever, was elected.

William E. Dever, who served as mayor from 1923 to 1927, appointed leading businessmen and civic leaders to the Board of Education and left them free from political interference. But the superintendent whom they appointed and supported, William McAndrew, roused such antagonism in certain politically important quarters, including organized labor and most of the teachers, that Thompson was able to use the promise to oust McAndrew to help get himself re-elected in 1927. He promptly secured enough resignations to regain control of the Board of Education which brought charges against McAndrew and removed him from office.

During the remainder of the last Thompson term, from 1927 to 1931, neither Thompson nor his political organization interfered to any important extent with the educational policies or personnel of the schools. Thompson appointed more independent and better educated board members than in his earlier terms. At the same time, the business operations of the schools were used as a source of political patronage, especially as regards custodial and other non-teaching employees.

Cermak, who became mayor in 1931, was chiefly concerned with the financial crisis facing Chicago governments. He was unable to appoint a majority of school board members and denounced the Thompson hold-overs for making insufficient cuts in school expenditures. When he was shot and killed in 1933, Edward J. Kelly was chosen by the City Council to become mayor. Kelly's first objective as regards the Board of Education was to see that the cuts in school expenditures being demanded by a committee of businessmen, called the Sargent Committee, were carried out. It seems fair to say, on the basis of the policies developed by the board which he controlled, that his second objective was to make available as many positions and rewards as possible to his political supporters and friends.

To carry out these objectives, Kelly appointed Board members who had less than the average educational attainments of earlier or later boards, and most of whom had ties to his political organization. The President of the Board during the entire time that Kelly was mayor, 1933 to 1947, was his close friend, James B. McCahey. More than any other board president, McCahey exercised executive authority over the schools. From 1936 to 1946, the school superintendent was completely subservient to the Board of Education in matters of appointments, budgets and business operations. In 1945, the Commission for the Defense of Democracy of the National Education Association, after an investigation, published a report charging intimidation and punishment of capable teachers who were unwilling to submit to domination, insistence upon blind loyalty to the administration, attempts to dominate or divide teacher organizations, and the use of transfers to punish some individuals and intimidate others. The Report charged that the Board of Education and its President had failed to operate the schools democratically, were legally responsible for bad personnel practices, and had been the medium through which political controls had been exerted. The ultimate responsibility for these conditions was placed upon the mayor.

The wide dissemination of the NEA report and the continued campaigns in two Chicago newspapers, among parent groups and in educational circles, gradually built up irresistible pressure. In March 1946, the Chicago City Council yielded to the urgings of civic groups and held hearings on the charges made in the report. Although the Council officially approved a report supporting the board and completely repudiating the charges, Mayor Kelly was obliged to act when the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges warned that accreditation of Chicago high schools would be withdrawn unless action were taken to end political interference in the public school system. Kelly promptly appointed an Advisory Committee of college presidents to advise him on steps to accomplish this end. In spite of doubts expressed by civic groups, most of the recommendations of this Committee, known as the Heald Committee, were eventually carried out. An Advisory Commission on School Board Nominations was set up to screen nominees for the Board and make recommendations to the mayor, and this system, although extra-legal, has been followed in Chicago for all school board appointments since 1946 with two or three exceptions. In 1947, the Chicago school law was amended to provide for a single executive head of the Chicago Public School system, to be known as the General Superintendent of Schools.

The school controversy of 1946 weakened Mayor Kelly's political position to the extent that he was not re-slated in the spring of 1947. His successor, Martin Kennelly, was a businessman who, except for one incident, did not interfere in school matters and sharply reduced the number of patronage employees in school jobs. Kennelly committed a political sin by accepting the recommendation of his Advisory Commission in not re-slating a labor member for the Board of Education, and this omission contributed to his being dropped by the party at the next election. His successor, Richard J. Daley, while continuing to make use of the Advisory Commission on School Board nominations, has been more careful to avoid political pit-falls, and has so far successfully steered a course which has kept him largely out of school board controversies.

The reforms of 1946 and 1947 have affected the relationship of the Board of Education to the city government in two ways. In the first place board members no longer owe their appointment directly to the mayor and do not need to feel any particular political obligation to him although it is clear that mayors use their power of choice to avoid putting in Board members who will make political trouble for them. At first the Advisory Commission repudiated the idea of recognizing ethnic, racial or political obligations in school board appointments, and tried to set up a board that would be "broadly representative of the social interests of the community." In the course of time, however, it has become clear that mayors could not or would not ignore the claims of certain politically important groups--for example organized labor, the Negroes, the Poles. But even with these concessions, the majority of board members are no longer seen by competent observers as being highly responsive to political claims.

In the second place, the creation of the office of the General Superintendent of Schools has put the executive power into the hands of a professionally trained educator, whose position relative to the board is far stronger than before 1947. Even if the Board of Education were again under political control, its authority in school matters, and consequently its political importance, would still be much less than in the days of James B. McCahey.

The setting up of the Advisory Commission on School Board Nominations in 1946 has weakened political domination of the Board of Education, but it has not solved the problem of the role of the Board of Education in the public school system.

In theory the Board is a policy-making body, whose policies are to be carried out by the executive head of the school administration--the Superintendent. However, there are at least two factors which work against the Board's effectiveness in policy-making:

1. The system of selection, intended to represent the "broad social interests of the community," actually produces a rather disparate group of eleven people who tend to function as a "policy-approving" or disapproving group, rather than as policy makers. Although the current length of service (6.5 years on the average since 1946) should be sufficient to produce a knowledgeable group capable of formulating policies, the average conceals a good deal of coming and going for shorter periods, while a few individuals continue for more than twice the average.

2. The board receives all of its information from the general superintendent and his staff, and tends to defer to his professional knowledge and expertise in matters of school policy. While this may be a good thing for the schools, it does make the idea of a policy-making board somewhat hollow. Recently, there have been recommendations that the board have some information-gathering and professionally trained staff of its own, but it is hard to see how this would work out in practice if the two groups of professionals disagreed.

The most important function of the board in the realm of policy-making comes when a new superintendent is selected. Thus when the Board selected Redmond to succeed Willis, their selection of a man committed to the idea of school integration set some of the lines of school policy for years to come. Once the choice was made, the board might function to delay or accelerate change, but any radical change of direction would involve choosing a new superintendent.

## The Changing Role of the Superintendent

The office of Superintendent of Schools first appeared in the Chicago school system in 1853 when the City Council passed an ordinance providing for a superintendent to be appointed annually by the Board of Schools Inspectors, subject to the approval of the Common Council. Although his duties as described in the ordinance covered the superintendence of most aspects of school administration, the superintendent's real authority was very limited and he could be removed even before his one year term was up either by a 2/3 vote of the Council or by vote of the Board. This situation was not structurally changed until 1917, although in the meantime it was frequently criticized and resulted in much conflict between board and superintendent, with the upper hand always held by the board. The Otis Law of 1917 was intended to strengthen the Superintendent by giving him a four-year term during which he could not be removed except by a formal trial before the Board, and by giving him the initiative in most matters that directly concerned the educational program. But at the same time, by setting up a business manager on the same level of authority, the Otis law brought about a situation in which the Superintendent could not plan his own budget and had no control over business operations. This left the ultimate authority, even in matters of administration, with the Board of Education. In the period from 1924 to 1946, three superintendents filled the role created by the Otis law in different ways:

William McAndrew (1924-28) was brought from New York by a reform Board, made up largely of businessmen, to keep politics out of the schools and to bring efficiency and integrity into school management. He was a man of great self-confidence, well educated, and honorable in all his dealings. Yet he reflected the mood of the 1920's in his worship of business efficiency, organization, and 100% mastery of subject matter. His concept of administration clashed with the philosophy of teacher participation in policy formation which in Chicago stemmed from John Dewey, Francis Parker, and Ella Flagg Young, and which was administratively embodied in the system of Teachers' Councils, which McAndrew discontinued. He was soon embroiled with the teachers' organizations, especially the Chicago Teachers Federation, as well as with the Chicago Federation of Labor which objected to his plan for Junior High schools and to his brusque rejection of their criticisms. In 1927, William Hale Thompson took advantage of the situation to make the ouster of McAndrew an issue in his campaign for mayor. Thompson was elected and McAndrew was ousted.

William J. Bogan (1929-1946) spent his entire professional life in the Chicago Public Schools. His philosophy of education stemmed from Francis Parker and Ella Flagg Young, and his major concern was with the adaptation of education to the varying needs of the urban community. These ideas were embodied in such institutions as the Lane Technical High School, Continuation Schools, experimental elementary schools, the junior high schools and a variety of afternoon and evening programs. He involved the educational and lay forces of the city through a system of advisory councils and committees.

His relations with teachers and administrators were good, with his role in administration supportive rather than authoritarian. But the desperate financial plight of the Chicago governments in the early 1930's and their dependence on the business community brought an end to all that Bogan was trying to do. His most cherished projects were eliminated as fad and frills, and after 1933 the Board of Education made policy without consulting him. He died March 26, 1936.

William H. Johnson (1936-1946). Even before Bogan's death, the Board of Education was handling most matters of educational administration through Johnson, his hand-picked successor. Johnson had had most of his professional experience in the Chicago school system and held a Ph.D. in education from the University of Chicago. He was subservient to the Board in matters of administration and dictatorial in his relationships with subordinates. Identifying criticism with disloyalty, he gradually eliminated top administrators who differed with his educational policies or his methods, and openly set up "loyalty" as a criterion for administrative posts from the principalship up. By 1946 he was opposed by most of the civic organizations in Chicago, and by the majority of teachers. The National Education Association had published a report condemning his administration and he had been ousted from Phi Delta Kappa, the professional organization of educators, on the grounds of transgressing their code of ethics. When the Heald Committee appointed by Mayor Kelly recommended in June, 1946 that his resignation be obtained on the grounds that "he did not possess the highest qualifications necessary for the office," he immediately resigned.

In 1947 the state law governing Chicago schools was amended to give single executive authority to the Superintendent in the administration of the schools, and strengthening his authority in other ways.

The first man to serve as superintendent of schools under these new conditions was Herold C. Hunt (1947-1953). His service as Superintendent in other cities including Kalamazoo, New Rochelle and Kansas City had convinced him that to make progress, the first duty of a superintendent was to establish good relations both within the school system and with the community at large. His administration was featured by the involvement of citizens and professional staff in a formulation of educational objectives, by emphasis on democratic procedures within the school system itself, and by the beginning of an informed approach to problems of human relations. He preferred consensus to conflict and in general his relations with the Board of Education were good. He opened the Chicago Public Schools to teaching applicants from outside the city and its Teachers' College and instituted a personnel system based on merit. He left Chicago in 1953 to accept a chair in educational administration at Harvard University.

## The State and the School Systems

Article VIII of the Illinois Constitution of 1870, which is still in force, provides that

> The General Assembly shall provide a thorough and efficient system of free schools whereby all children of this State may receive a good common school education.

The constitution also provides for an elected Superintendent of Public Instruction and limits the indebtedness of school districts and other municipal corporations to five percent of the assessed valuation of taxable property therein.

The state has carried out its responsibility for the schools by delegating to the school districts of the state limited power to levy and collect taxes on property for school purposes and by supplementing these resources with state appropriations which in recent years have averaged around twenty-five percent of total school costs of all school districts in Illinois. Chicago receives about the average percentage, getting 24.5% in 1966. Forty-five of the fifty states provide a larger share of school costs than does Illinois.

The system of state school supervision in Illinois is also antiquated. Illinois is one of two states which has no state school board, and the work of its State Superintendent, elected on a partisan political ticket, is largely confined to compiling the statistics on which state aid is calculated.

The low level of state support for schools and the inadequate educational leadership at the state level are tied in with the same social factors which have resulted in repeated defeats of efforts to modernize the constitution of Illinois and especially its revenue system. Down-state legislators have always been unwilling to take any steps which might give control in state matters to the city of Chicago, and the system of apportionment has always enabled them to retain the upper hand. Chicago representatives in turn have been unwilling to risk adding to the power and resources of a state legislature controlled by down-staters. With recent Supreme Court decisions, representation is being rationalized, but now the growth of the metropolitan area outside Chicago gives the balance of power to suburban areas.

The system by which state aid to school districts is apportioned is given the name of equalization but it does very little to equalize the differences in educational expenditures per pupil between the rich and poor school districts of the state. Not only are there flat grants which are given to all districts regardless of their local tax resources available for schools, but because of the antiquated system of assessment, administered almost at will by a large number of local politically chosen officials, there is no guarantee that the assessed valuations on which equalization allocations are based are figured in the same way from one school district to another. In fact, studies have shown that poor districts tend to assess property at a higher rate than rich districts because of their need to raise at least a minimum amount of money. But this reduces their claim on equalization funds relative to the richer districts which assess property at a lower rate.

Recently, there has been some interest in instituting a suit against the state of Illinois (as has already been done in Michigan) on the ground that it is not fulfilling its constitutional responsibility for the provision of a good common school education for all the children of the state.

# SYSTEMS INFLUENCING THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

## Business and the School System

Three issues during three different periods from 1890 to 1965 reveal examples of interaction between the Chicago business community and the public school system.

I. The first issue began around 1890 when the public school system attempted to respond to the shortage of skilled workmen and technicians by establishing manual training programs. Several Chicago businessmen were responsible for the development of these programs, contributing money and machinery for their continuation. A group of leading businessmen even founded a private manual training school. As the shortage of skilled labor continued, however, some businessmen argued that to solve the labor problem more significant educational changes were needed.

In 1910 the Commercial Club of Chicago sent former school superintendent Edwin G. Cooley to Europe to study systems of vocational education. Upon returning, Cooley campaigned for a dual system of education modelled after the German system. The major feature of the system, its dual character, required separate academic and vocational systems operated by separate boards of education. The Commercial Club submitted bills proposing the establishment of such a system to the 1913, 1915, and 1917 sessions of the State Legislature.

Although Club members lobbied for the bills in Springfield, the bills failed to pass. Among the reasons for these failures was the lack of consensus within the business community itself, as well as the strong opposition of organized labor and the Chicago Teachers' Federation. Some businessmen felt that the apprenticeship system based on general schooling was the most efficient way to solve the labor shortage.

II. The second issue occurred during the period from 1927 to 1934 when both city and school system experienced a severe financial crisis. Beginning in 1927 several committees, containing a preponderance of businessmen, formed or were appointed to reform the state tax assessment system and the city budget.

In July, 1932 the Sargent Committee, a committee of leading businessmen, began a series of night meetings with the school board to discuss ways to reduce the budget. When the committee advised the board that until cuts were made the banks would not purchase more tax warrants, the board met the committee's demand and made reductions in the school budget in both July and December. The board refused, however, to make any further drastic cuts.

In May and June, 1933, Mayor Kelly, who publicly allied himself with the Sargent Committee, was able to control a voting majority of the eleven member school board by appointing seven new members. On July 12, 1933 the new board generated an intense controversy by implementing a drastic reduction which resulted in the abolition of several programs and services. Labor unions, teachers and educators accused the school system of bowing to a "business dictatorship" and although the cuts were restored over a period of years, the debate still continued over their necessity and effectiveness.

III. The third issue, the de facto school segregation controversy, occupied the period from 1961 to 1965. The Superintendent of the Chicago public schools became a controversial figure in his adamant defense of the neighborhood school concept. The first direct business involvement occurred in October, 1963 when the Superintendent resigned over a dispute with his board concerning a transfer plan which would have placed a small number of Negro pupils in predominantly white schools. A group of businessmen made public a telegram to the Superintendent urging him to reconsider his resignation and assuring him of their support.

The second example of direct business involvement occurred in July, 1965 when the Superintendent was urged by his supporters to remain in office beyond the mandatory retirement age. A second message, signed by a large group of businessmen, asked the school board to proceed with the selection of his successor.

Interviews with leading businessmen, who had informally discussed the controversy with the Superintendent at the time, revealed that some of them supported the Superintendent in the early stages of the controversy. This support was eventually withdrawn. The businessmen, through the interviews, expressed a nearly unanimous disapproval of the Superintendent's role. Significantly, this feeling was based upon the Superintendent's inflexibility and personal handling of the situation rather than the policies which he advocated. Regardless of how the businessmen felt about the issue of de facto racial segregation in the schools, they were critical of the Superintendent's tactics and most of them communicated the feeling to him.

## Teachers' Organizations and the Public School System

The first organization of classroom teachers in Chicago grew out of the attempts of elementary teachers to better their pensions and salaries. At that time elementary classroom teachers were nearly all women, the daughters of working-class and lower-middle-class families. Few had more than high school education, since no Normal School Training was offered them before 1893. They contrasted with the few high school teachers, who were more than fifty percent men, were mostly college graduates and were somewhat better paid.

In 1897, the Chicago Teachers Federation was formed to improve a pension plan and to get salaries raised. They sought to influence state legislation and instituted suits to collect taxes avoided by public utilities. Although they could not vote, and had little general education or economic status, they entered on campaigns for public ownership of street railways, for women suffrage, for a single tax, and opposed bitterly a dual vocational school system. They affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor in 1902. Moreover, they took an active part in six mayoralty campaigns from 1905 to 1927. In 1916, with four other local teacher unions, the Federation formed the American Federation of Teachers, and was the largest of its five groups.

The moving spirit in the Federation was Margaret Haley, a young woman of Irish Catholic background, who had begun teaching in Chicago in 1887, and who became the Federation's "business agent," soon after its formation. Under her fighting leadership, the Federation included a majority of the teachers in its membership for about two decades. Not only did the Federation work for higher salaries, secure pensions, and better working conditions, but it insisted that teachers have a share in determining educational policy, either through teachers' councils or through their own organization. With the exception of Superintendent Ella Flagg Young (1909-1915) and the "reform" Board of Education, 1905-1907, superintendents and Boards of Education were hostile to the Federation. In 1916, the Board dismissed more than thirty of its leaders for Federation activity. The reaction to their dismissal led to a tenure act in 1918. The Federation dropped its labor affiliation in 1917, and usually refused to cooperate with other teacher organizations as they appeared.

Four other teacher groups arose in the early part of the century--the Chicago Principals' Club, a Chicago Division of the Illinois Teachers Association, a High School Teachers Club, and a smaller competing elementary organization, the Teachers' League, among whom there were more middle-class and native-born women than in the Federation. Between 1912 and 1930 six teacher groups in Chicago affiliated with the Chicago Federation of Labor. In order of formation they were:

Federation of Men Teachers
Federation of Women High School Teachers
Elementary Teachers Union
Playground Teachers Union
School Clerks Union
Truant Officers Union

Four years of "payless paydays," deep cuts in teaching force and school services, and the distortion of professional standards by political influences, brought the six union groups and the Teachers' League into "one big union" in 1937. It has included a majority of teachers ever since. From 1937 to 1947 the Chicago Teachers Union worked to rid the system of political influence and to get salaries restored and increased.

The Chicago Teachers Federation continued to dominate the policies of the Chicago Division of the Illinois Education Association until 1938, when a slate of officers sympathetic to the union was elected. From that time until 1947, the union and the Chicago Division of the IEA were on good terms and many teachers held memberships in both organizations. However, the Chicago Division made its own policies. The initiative for the investigation of Chicago Public Schools by the National Education Association came from the Chicago Division. With the Citizens Schools Committee, it played a major part in assisting the investigators with the collection of information. A conflict of interest between the Chicago Teachers Union and the Chicago Division developed in 1947 when the National Education Association adopted a policy of developing local branches of state associations into welfare organizations. Most of the union members then withdrew, leaving a membership in the state group of one third that of the union. According to figures given in the Chicago Union Teacher in 1953, the membership of the Union was 8,400, of the Chicago Division 2800, of the Chicago Teachers Federation 800, of the Association of Chicago Teachers 200, the Men Teachers Club 200 and the Council of Elementary Teachers 70.

After 1962, the Union pressed its request for a collective bargaining agreement with the Board of Education. In 1966 an election was held to determine what organization should represent the teachers in collective bargaining, and the Union won over the Chicago Division of the I.E.A. by a large margin. This led to a collective bargaining agreement signed by the Board of Education and the Union in 1967.

At the same time, the Union obligated itself to work with the administration on such major problems of policy as equalizing educational opportunity for disadvantaged children. Thus the Union won the right and responsibility to negotiate with the Board of Education as the sole representative of the teachers on matters of educational policy, although the Chicago Division of the IEA continues as a fairly large group with a paid executive secretary and an office, and presents its own views on school matters.

## Citizens' Organizations and the Schools

Formal and informal citizen groups have played important parts in affecting school decisions in Chicago since the city was founded.

Kindergartens, school lunches, health programs, the Parental school and other special classes and schools for delinquent, maladjusted or handicapped children have all had their origins in pilot projects or pressures exerted by local organizations. In the years before 1925 the Chicago's Woman's Club, the Woman's City Club, and Hull House were especially active. A Chicago Society for School Extension began about 1900 to campaign for use of the schools for community activities after school hours, and although the early centers were eliminated in 1932, citizen efforts brought about their re-opening beginning in 1939. The Citizens Committee for Wider Use of Schools, a joint group representing numerous organizations, was successful in getting a special tax increase and legal authority for social centers in 1952 and continued for several years to work for their expansion and improvement.

In 1922, a Joint Committee on School Affairs, including both men's and women's organizations, was instrumental in bringing about a grand jury investigation of scandals in school operation and in the resulting election of a reform mayor and appointment of a reform Board of Education.

In recent years, three organizations may be singled out as particularly active in seeking and getting action on school matters.

The Citizens Schools Committee grew out of the wave of citizen and teacher indignation over the drastic cuts made in school programs and personnel by the Board of Education in 1933. Much of the financing came from the teachers, first as individuals and later through the Teachers' Union, and much of the membership came from local parent-teacher groups and the organizations in the Joint Committee on School Affairs. With its office, its executive secretary, and its regular bulletin, the Citizens Schools Committee functioned from 1933 to 1946 to maintain pressure for restoration of school services, and teacher salaries, and for an end to political interference in the school system. When this phase of school history was ended by the establishment of the Mayor's Advisory Commission on School Board Nominations and the legislation strengthening the superintendent, the Citizens Schools Committee's role changed to one of upholding the board and superintendent in making needed reforms, while urging still further progress. The financial help and participation by organized teachers gradually declined. The controversy over segregated and unequal facilities which came to a head during the administration of Superintendent Willis brought the CSC back into the role of critic of the school administration and weakened the cooperative relationship which had grown up under Superintendent Hunt. With a new Superintendent whose policies are more in line with the CSC philosophy, the role of the organization seems to be changing again.

The Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers was founded in 1900 and Chicago always had active local groups, but not until 1946 was there a formal Parent-Teacher organization for the city as a whole, with authority to act on Chicago affairs independently of the state organization. This came about as the result of a long struggle within the organization over the proper role of the PTA and the interpretation of a national policy of non-interference in school administration. Many leaders and local members saw the principal role of the PTA in parent education and in local activities supplementary to the school program, and this position was re-inforced in Chicago by the school administration and many local principals. But the period of political interference in the schools from 1933 to 1946 convinced many PTA members that work for the schools must include reform of school evils and this viewpoint triumphed in the establishment of the Chicago Region of the Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers in 1947. During Superintendent Hunt's administration the organization was involved in the making of school policies, conducted a survey of school facilities, and grew in strength and effectiveness. It was somewhat weakened by the civil rights controversy after 1960, losing the support of some local PTA's in white neighborhoods opposed to school integration policies and becoming estranged from the school administration during Superintendent Willis' tenure. It must now find its place in the growing movement for more citizen participation in the making of local school policies.

The Civic Federation has for many years represented the views of large Chicago taxpayers on school matters. Although it has worked constructively for improved business procedures in the schools, helped to work out measures of financial relief in the depression period, and supported legislation to give single executive authority to the superintendent in 1947, it has generally opposed increase in services on the grounds that taxes were too high, and has succeeded at times in delaying or defeating measures which other citizen groups held to be desirable and important.

## The Metropolitan Press and the Schools

All of the Chicago daily newspapers have had concern with the management of the public schools of the city, with varying degrees of emphasis at various times. Each paper has a history of its own, which to some extent influences its attitude on schools. Each tends to be more acceptable to some socio-economic levels of the population than to others.

The Tribune is the oldest and through most of its life the most influential. It is now recognized as an effective newspaper voice of the conservative wing of the Republican party. For most of the period of this study its policies were directed by its owner, Colonel Robert Rutherford McCormick and reflected his anti-British, anti-New Deal, anti-U.N., and anti-welfare state views. In the realm of schools, this was translated in opposition to organized teachers and in efforts to restrict increased school taxes.

The Herald Examiner and the American were part of the Hearst chain and followed the direction of their owner in major national policies; but the Herald Examiner, as a morning paper in competition with the Tribune, tended to take a position in opposition to it, and gave strong support in 1933 to parents and teachers opposed to the Kelly-McCahey economy program, which the Tribune supported. Of the Hearst papers, one lineal descendant, the American, now remains as an evening paper, owned by the Tribune, but still directed to the lower sector of the socio-economic scale.

The Daily News began as an independent afternoon paper but gradually became a voice for "moderate" Republicans. Though wary of increased taxes, it has generally favored the extension of educational opportunity and has assigned considerable space and well-trained reporters to school issues. Recently it was acquired by Field Enterprises which also publishes the morning Sun-Times. This in turn is a product of the merger of the tabloid Times and the Sun, started by Marshall Field in 1941 in support of the Roosevelt administration and in intentional contrast to the Tribune. The Sun carried on a major campaign in 1945 and 1946 to oppose Mayor Kelly and his Board of Education and was counted as an effective factor in the resulting reforms.

A study of newspaper coverage of four school issues in the last thirty-five years supports the above generalizations. Inches of space, editorials, front-page articles and headlines, and cartoons or pictures were counted and compared. News articles and editorials were evaluated as for, against, or neutral in the particular school issue involved. As an example of the results, it was found that the Herald Examiner in July 1933 published 4573 inches of space on the school economy program of the Kelly-McCahey school administration, of which 4518 were classified as against the program and none as for it; while the Tribune in the same period published 1341 inches of which 1050 supported the program, 18 appeared to criticize it, and 273 were factual news stories. The other three issues covered in a similar way were: (1) the City Council Hearing on the N.E.A. Report and the North Central Association warning to the school administration, March 1, 1946 to July 1, 1946; (2) Superintendent Hunt's attitudes on the National Education Association and the United Nations, October, 1947; and (3) Superintendent Redmond's Plan, Increasing Desegregation of Faculties, Students and Vocational Education Program, August 20 to November 1, 1967.

The involvement of the Chicago press in attempting to influence decisions on the conduct of the Chicago public schools is clear. The actual effect is not so clear, but there is no question that winning and holding the support of the great Chicago dailies is a major problem for any superintendent of schools who hopes to carry the city with him.

## The Churches and the Schools

The interaction of the Catholic system with the public schools is considered in another section of this report. The Protestant and Jewish church systems must be subdivided in order to discover any unity of action with reference to school issues.

The greatest degree of unity on a school controversy was the issue of alleged corruption and political domination of the schools which in 1946 called forth a burst of indignation and civic energy from a large number of Protestant and Jewish congregations in Chicago. The Church Federation of Greater Chicago, representing the major Protestant denominations in the Chicago area (1200 churches with 400,000 members) was able to win the support of its Board of Directors, representing the member denominations, for a real program of action through the churches. Through a Special Committee on the Public Schools a "Manifesto on Chicago's Public Schools" was distributed on a single Sunday in a thousand churches, petitions were circulated, and continual pressure maintained on the mayor, the City Council, and the Board of Education until a majority of new board members had been appointed and a new superintendent of schools was selected. The Unitarian-Universalists, not part of the Church Federation, were also active in this campaign.

So were a number of Jewish synagogues and their civic-minded Rabbis. In general only the Reformed Jewish congregations are active in civic affairs, as distinct from the Traditional and Conservative congregations. A similar division may be observed among the Protestants, as the more Fundamentalist denominations and sects as a rule keep clear of social issues and do not belong to the Church Federation.

No other school issue has called forth such intense activity by church organizations during the period under study, although some Protestant ministers were active during the fight over the school principals' examination in 1937-38, and the Unitarians especially put on an organized campaign in 1938 to stimulate civic groups and private citizens to petition for the immediate dismissal of Superintendent William H. Johnson.

Many individual churchmen and some denominational groups have been active since 1960 in the issues of school segregation and full educational opportunities for Negroes. The Church Federation again established a Special Committee on Schools to deal with this issue but the Federation itself never took a stand through its Board of Directors. This failure can easily be understood: political corruption is a much less controversial sin than segregation. Many congregations inside the city really did not want integration, and many suburban congregations preferred not to become involved. Some church people felt that the attack on Superintendent Willis had become a personal one, and resolved to stay out of it.

Some denominations, and some individual congregations, however, have been very active in calling for school integration and even in support of civil rights school boycotts. The Conference on Religion and Race, an outgrowth of an interfaith conference called in Chicago in 1963, including representatives of Jewish, Protestant and Catholic congregations, called for an official Board of Education policy favoring racial integration.

A different kind of issue in which church organizations have sought to influence the schools has been that of released time for religious education. The Chicago Church Federation began released time programs as early as 1927 and by the 1960's at least 40 Protestant churches were involved, under the guidance of the Federation's Commission on Weekday Church Schools. The Federation's Commission on Religion and Education, chaired by a public school principal, presented a report in 1958 supporting the practice of meditation or prayer in schools and the principle of released time. However, not more than 4500 Protestant public school children are involved in such programs, compared with 18,000 Catholic children. Some Jewish congregations support released time programs, but all of them oppose prayer or the use of religious symbols in schools.

A more recent but related issue is that of dual enrollment. This has been welcomed by the Catholics as one way out of their financial problems, but generally opposed by Jewish groups and regarded with suspicion by many Protestant churchmen, especially when the first dual enrollment program in Chicago, involving a Catholic parochial high school and a new public high school, was announced without previous public discussion by Superintendent Willis in 1964. However the Church Federation itself has not flatly denounced the principle of dual enrollment and there are now two other programs in Chicago on a small scale--one involving a Lutheran high school and the other an Orthodox Jewish Academy.

## The Welfare and Health Systems and the School System

The passage of a compulsory education law in 1883 brought the school system face to face with some of the welfare and health problems that result in tardiness, school absences and drop-outs. As time passed, increasing acceptance of the view that the mental, emotional, and physical development of the child are interrelated intensified the pressure for acceptance of responsibility by the schools for some aspects of the social and physical welfare of pupils.

Over the years, the schools have become involved in the area of health and welfare in three principal ways:

1. The school system has initiated programs, as when it employed truant officers to help enforce the compulsory education law. Often this was done in response to pressure by civic groups, i.e., the first case against parents of truant children was filed in 1898 at the urging of thirty-five women's clubs.

2. The school system has taken over programs started by outside groups, as when the school system in 1912 accepted responsibility for the penny lunch program which had been started by various women's clubs and parent-teacher groups. Another example was the vocational guidance and visiting teacher program which grew out of a program financed in 1911 by the Chicago Women's Club, the Chicago Association of Collegiate Alumnae, and the Women's City Club.

3. The school system has cooperated with outside private or public agencies which have provided services to school children whether in the schools or elsewhere; i.e., the school health program, which from 1916 to 1932 involved the following agencies: Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitorium which furnished 50 doctors and 50 nurses; Chicago Department of Health which worked for control of communicable diseases; Chicago Dental Society which provided dental care for cost of materials; Chicago Council of Social Agencies and Parent Teacher Associations which informed parents and schools of available resources.

During the early 1930's and especially from 1933 to 1936, welfare and health services in the schools were drastically curtailed. The Department of Health and other agencies withdrew their health services, and guidance and visiting teacher programs were discontinued. Some guidance services were restored with the help of Federal funds beginning in 1936 with the establishment of the Adjustment program, followed by the setting up of the Bureau of Occupational Research in 1948, and expansion of psychological services by the Bureau of Child Study. But although Chicago has long had special schools for handicapped children, it was not until 1950 at the urging of an aroused public opinion that the Board of Education recognized its responsibility for the health of the normal child in a regular classroom by making provision for a director of health, followed by the appointment of nine teacher nurses and a supervisor of health services in 1951. The program now includes a teacher nurse for every three or four schools and a hearing and vision screening program.

Except for the few visiting teachers eliminated in 1933, the school system resisted the introduction of social workers until very recent years, despite the urging of many civic and welfare groups. A workable plan for professionally trained social workers was at last adopted in 1964, and by 1967 the Division of School Social Work had a director, a supervisor, and twenty-one properly qualified teacher social workers, who were required to have had eighteen hours of education courses in addition to their social work training.

An unresolved problem is the lack of professional training of truant officers who are employed through the city Civil Service Commission and are not required to meet any educational requirements.

Provision of welfare services by the schools, and/or cooperation with public or private agencies which provide such services, continue to present problems. The school system is generally willing to add welfare functions and roles if it is given extra money to do it and full control of the people who perform the new roles. But this takes time and may be resisted by welfare and health systems which see the new functions as belonging partly to them. There is urgent need for coordination and communication among and within all systems involved.

## The Negro Community and the Chicago Public School System

Research concerning the Negro and education in Chicago has covered four phases. The first phase included a general overview of issues, events, and data which were available from secondary sources and covered the period from 1779 to 1947. The second period focussed on the Technical Committee, an organized attempt from 1947 to 1952 by the public school administration, universities, and a citizens' group to improve and racially integrate the education of Negro pupils in Chicago. During the third period, 1956-1966, the education of Negroes emerged as the most significant issue confronting the city. The role of five organizations which were the most active in revealing and dramatizing the nature of the issue was analyzed. A final phase started about 1963, and centers around two prominent organizations, the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The historical research investigated several time periods. Some of the major findings included:

1. 1779-1890. In 1863 an ordinance was passed by the city compelling Negro pupils to attend a Black School. It was repealed in 1865.

2. 1890-1922. The 1919 race riot generated a survey of Negro schools. The school system was found to be racially segregated and the Negro schools were judged to be inferior.

3. 1922-1944. Various administrative tactics were used to permit segregation in the school system. Protest by the Negro community began.

4. 1947-1953. Superintendent Hunt established the Technical Committee (see below), which sought ways to reduce segregation.

5. 1953-1968. Superintendent Willis' era was marked by intense controversy over de facto segregation. Redmond's term began with controversies over the bussing of Negro pupils to white schools.

Through the Technical Committee, Superintendent Hunt, with the cooperation of the business and academic communities, redistricted the elementary schools in a manner that was intended to promote racial integration. His plan to redistrict high schools was not implemented by his successor, Superintendent Willis.

The third phase of the research studied the de facto segregation controversy by analyzing comparatively the roles of five civil rights organizations. These groups included the local branches of national organizations--The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, The Congress of Racial Equality, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, Urban League, and The Catholic Interracial Council. The Urban League was found to be the most efficiently organized and maintained a "spokesman" role throughout the controversy. In the early phases of the controversy the N.A.A.C.P., C.I.C., S.N.C.C. and C.O.R.E. were active, however the latter two dropped out of the controversy as their goals changed from integration to Black Power, and the N.A.A.C.P. lost much of its influence because of its ties with the Democratic political machine in the city. The C.I.C. is a smaller organization which has followed the leadership of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The final phase analyzed the final years of Willis' superintendency and the beginning of Redmond's term by studying the programs of the C.C.C.O. and S.C.L.C. Tracing the activities of these organizations in Chicago revealed that the primary goal in the Negro community changed from integrated education to open housing, the latter issue replacing the former in the summer of 1966. With the failures of the school integration movement and open housing campaigns, the present educational goals of the Negro community are directed to obtaining quality education through community involvement with curricular emphasis upon Black history and culture.

# CHAPTER III - SUBURBAN SCHOOLS

The many elementary and secondary school districts and the few unit districts in the suburban area show wide differences in per-pupil expenditures. This is obviously due to differences in property values in the various communities, as well as to differences in family income, family size, value set on education, etc. The suburban area is a highly complex area when examined in the light of socioeconomic data.

Accordingly, a study was made of the economic and demographic factors that influence the level of operating expenditures for public schools in the Chicago Metropolitan Area.

The main objectives of this study were:

1. To develop a system for categorizing local school districts in terms of the major demographic and economic environmental inputs which influence levels of operating expenditure.

2. To explore the effect of the geographic distribution of these demographic and economic factors upon the levels of expenditure for educational services within the distinctive social areas of the metropolitan region.

3. Finally, to examine some implications of variations in the environmental factors for decisions regarding school district boundaries; relative levels of local resource allocation, both among different school districts and between schools and other taxing bodies within the same district; and for levels of innovativeness in educational programming.

The study shows that school districts can be meaningfully categorized in terms of selected demographic and economic variables which provide major inputs into the local educational systems. These are the socio-economic status of the school district population, measured by median family income and median years of education in the adult population; family size and age of population, combined into a single variable; and the level of per pupil assessed valuation. The study explores the interrelationships among these factors and their impact upon the level of per pupil operating expenditure.

The geographic distribution of these population characteristics and economic resources is not a random matter. Ecologists have shown that factors influencing individual decisions tend to structure the distribution of commerce, industry, transportation, and areas of residential settlement in characteristic ways which lead to the emergence of distinctive social areas. Viewing educational services in an overall planning perspective, the study separates out the school districts within the major social areas of the metropolitan region, outside the city of Chicago, and makes comparisons among them. This is done separately for the elementary school districts and the high school districts.

To indicate the possibilities of further research within the framework of the selected demographic and economic variables, and in the context of the metropolitan region, some further questions relevant to the provision of educational services have been explored.

Data were derived from the 1960 U. S. Census and the 1965-66 reports of County Superintendents of Schools. Other sources were the office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the State Department of Revenue, and the Cook County Clerk.

# The Educational System of a Suburban Area: A Case Study

The suburbs of Cook County are as varied a lot as those of any large city. There are high-status dormitory suburbs and middle-status dormitory suburbs. There are residential suburbs whose residents work in other suburbs. There are mixed industrial-residential suburbs that are almost a cross-section of American urban society. Chicago Heights and Bloom Township provide an example of the mixed type.

Situated 25 miles south of the City of Chicago, the small city of Chicago Heights developed as an industrial center before 1920 and was relatively independent of Chicago. The population had grown to 42,000 by 1966, with 20 per cent Negroes. Bloom Township, which includes Chicago Heights, grew more to have a population of 80,000 in 1966. In Bloom Township there are several villages or communities which show sharp differences of socioeconomic status. They are: Flossmoor, Homewood, Park Forest, Chicago Heights, Steger, East Chicago Heights, in descending order. Flossmoor is an upper middle-class residential suburb with a median family income that places it among the top five in the Chicago metropolitan area. East Chicago Heights is a working-class village, 86 per cent Negro, with one of the lowest median family income levels in the area.

The area outside of Chicago Heights and Homewood was mainly farm land until about 1930. Then the residential suburb of Flossmoor was built, followed by Park Forest after World War II. As the residential suburbs developed, they created their own school systems by secession from Chicago Heights and from Harvey, another industrial-residential town north of Chicago Heights.

There is a tendency for suburban communities to become socially homogeneous and to develop socially homogeneous school systems if they develop after the development of a central, more heterogeneous community. Thus Chicago Heights has remained almost a socioeconomic model of Chicago, with median family income of $7,255 in 1960 and 38 per cent of the males employed in white-collar occupations.

Chicago Heights has remained heterogeneous, while the school districts of Homewood, Flossmoor, and Park Forest have established themselves as middle-class systems. At the other extreme, East Chicago Heights has maintained its own elementary school district, and appears to make no move toward union with Chicago Heights.

Though Bloom Township has all the social, racial, and economic diversity of the Chicago metropolitan area, it seems to have had less conflict over its school policies than has the central city of Chicago. Reasons for this are being sought. One possible reason is that the relatively small size of Bloom Township permits the various interest groups to interact with each other on a face-to-face basis, in school boards, town councils, and political organizations.

The teaching staff of this suburban area has been quite stable. Administrators have generally served fairly long terms. Classroom teachers appear to be reasonably well satisfied and to stay on the job relatively long.

# CHAPTER IV PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS AND OTHER SCHOOL SYSTEMS

## The Catholic Schools: 1925-1965

This section of the report studies Catholic education in the city of Chicago and the metropolitan area of Cook, Lake, and DuPage Counties from 1925 to 1965. It documents enrollment trends for Catholic elementary and high schools, and analyzes the relationship between these trends and socio-economic factors as well as ethnic and racial variables, both in the entire area and within sub-sections. It also compares the development of the Catholic and public schools and studies the degree of interaction between the two systems.

The principal findings were that the Catholic schools, both elementary and secondary, except for a few years during the depression, have registered continual growth in enrollment, even when the total school-age population was declining due to a decreased birth rate. During this period the proportion of school-age children in Catholic schools rose steadily, except for the past few years in the city of Chicago when Negro enrollment in the public schools rose sharply.

In 1925 the heaviest Catholic elementary school enrollment was found in the workingmen's areas. Since that time there has been a steady movement into the City's outer ring, and after 1945 into the suburbs. Catholic school growth in these areas has outstripped that in the public schools. This trend marks the socio-economic transition of the Catholic populace into the middle class.

Catholic high school enrollment, on the other hand, was a distinctly middle-class phenomenon even in 1925, and has remained so. This has been due to the relatively high tuition in the Catholic high schools.

There seems to be evidence that some ethnic groups supported Catholic education more than others. The Germans were apparently the most committed, with the Irish and Polish close behind, while the immigrant Italians supported Catholic education hardly at all. With the assimilation of all these groups, however, the differences are largely eradicated.

Catholic schools in the inner city have been affected by the expansion of the Negro population, though not as much as might be expected. The large workingmen's areas of the City have remained heavily white with a very high proportion in Catholic schools. In the Negro areas, which were for the most part formerly middle class, Catholic school enrollment had never been high. Most of these schools are now all Negro.

In changing neighborhoods there is no indication that non-Catholics use the Catholic schools as a refuge. On the other hand, these schools remain largely white because only a small percentage of Negroes are Catholics and because many white Catholic families choose not to move to the suburbs where Catholic schools are too overcrowded. Thus, Catholic schools in these changing neighborhoods tend to keep whites from leaving, but do not contribute to the integration of public schools.

Interaction between the Catholic and public schools in Chicago has historically been minimal, with the exception of a released time program in operation for many years and a shared-time high school begun in 1965.

## Higher Education

In 1964 the degree-granting institutions of higher learning in metropolitan Chicago awarded 9192 bachelor's, 2604 master's, and 548 doctor's degrees. Of the 39 institutions all except one (Chicago Teachers College and its North branch) were privately controlled and supported. They included such diverse types as liberal arts colleges, universities, institutes of technology, music, art, and technical schools, theological seminaries, teachers colleges, and colleges of optometry and pharmacy. The largest of the private universities was Northwestern and the newest was Roosevelt which had been founded in 1945. The best was the University of Chicago, one of the world's great universities, with some 25 Nobel laureates on its faculty and among its alumni, past and present. On its campus Fermi had produced the first controlled nuclear chain reaction and had ushered in the atomic age, Dewey had founded the famous Laboratory School which had pioneered in educational theories and methods, and Hutchins had created the influential college which had emphasized student discussion, study of original texts, and the cultivation of the "intellectual virtues."

These private institutions were not isolated from the community but were responsive to forces from it and exerted force upon it. In the realm of education, for example, they made substantial contributions to the effectiveness of the public schools. They prepared young people for teaching careers and provided in-service training to improve the competence of veteran teachers. Their faculty members defended the public schools in periods of crisis, joined and sometimes led organizations to strengthen the public schools, served on school boards and local and state educational committees, made studies and surveys of school systems, and counseled boards and superintendents on policy and personnel matters.

In startling contrast to the number and variety of private colleges and universities in metropolitan Chicago was the paucity of public degree-granting institutions. There was only one in 1964, Chicago Teachers College, North and South, and it was devoted narrowly to teacher training. The University of Illinois had an Undergraduate Division at Navy Pier, opened in 1946, but it offered only freshman and sophomore courses. Other public two-year institutions were the junior colleges that dotted the area. The oldest junior college in the nation had been founded in Joliet in 1902, and slowly in the suburbs other junior colleges had been established--Morton in 1924, Lyons Township in 1929, Elgin in 1949, Bloom in 1958, and Triton in 1964. Free collegiate level courses had been provided by the Chicago Board of Education since 1911, and the Board had organized junior college branches at Wilson (1934), Wright (1934), Crane (1954), Amundsen (1956), Southeast (1957), Fenger (1958), Bogan (1960), and the Loop (1962).

The grave deficiency in public institutions of higher learning from which metropolitan Chicago suffered through the century was remedied somewhat by the establishment of the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle in 1965. This Chicago commuter campus of the state university made available bachelor's, master's, and doctor's programs in Architecture and Art, Business Administratio

Education, Engineering, and the Liberal Arts and Sciences. Its founding, although supplying the youth and adults of the area with badly needed low-tuition liberal and professional educational opportunities, did portend difficulties for the private institutions. Just as there were problems to be worked out in the relationship between private and public elementary and secondary education systems so there were problems to be worked out in the relationship between private and public collegiate and university education systems. It was imperative that some agency devote itself to this task and bring to the effort high standards of rationality, efficiency, and equity.

## V. The Future and Its Most Pressing Problems

As we review the history of the educational systems of the Chicago metropolitan area as presented in this study, we can hazard some general forecasts of the trend of future developments. Enrollments in public schools within the city proper will be sensitive to the kind of in-migration that the city experiences. Total population of the city will not change much during the next ten years. The reduction in birth rate of the early 60's will tend to stabilize the school enrollments until the 80's when the people born during the birth rate boom of the late 40's and the 50's will be providing children and will send enrollment up again.

The great and basic question is what change in population will occur during the next ten years in the city and the suburbs? The answer to this question will be given by the leaders of the city through their policies aimed to stabilize the population, to encourage social and economic integration; and through the program of the schools. The city can go on with present trends to become more segregated racially and economically. Or the city can remake itself as a set of residential areas that hold middle-class families in the city, attract others from the suburbs, evolving toward racial and economic integration.

The suburbs, too, will have problems. There will be some mixed suburbs, and more Negro suburban residents. As the suburban population continues to grow rapidly, there will be pressure to raise the level of financing of the school districts with a weaker tax base. Existing elementary school districts will be under pressure to combine with high school districts into unit districts. There will also be growing consideration given to the formation of intermediate or regional school districts, possibly a dozen covering the Chicago suburban area.

There will be three major sources of pressure on the public school system from the outside. The old civic organizations which represented the concern of well-educated, fairly prosperous middle-class citizens for good schools and honest government will continue, but will be partially offset by two new forces. One of the new forces will consist largely of Negro working-class people who will demand better schools for blacks and radical changes in the present forms of schooling, together with more positions in the administration for minority group members. Opposed to this group will be lower middle-class whites who will endeavor to prevent racial integration in their neighborhoods and schools, and will demand better schools for their children. It will require dynamic and imaginative leadership to keep these three forces in balance and to satisfy their legitimate demands on the educational system.

From inside the school system there will be greater pressure from the organized teachers for better working conditions and for a voice in the discussion and determination of school policies. Negotiation between the Board of Education and the teachers' organizations will deal more and more with matters of educational policy.

Business in Chicago has exerted pressure on the public school system in the past in several ways, according to the views of businessmen as to their interests at the time. If leading businessmen in the city in the coming years can be brought to see their interest as requiring radical changes in the method of financing public education and educational innovations which will help to reverse the trend towards schools which are racially and economically segregated, they might be able to help find solutions for these problems.

In the past, the state and federal government have left political responsibility for the schools in the hands of the city, and the major financial burden on the city's property owners. After a period in which the City Hall chose the leadership of the schools and occasionally exploited them, there has been a period in which a relatively non-political board has been left to grapple with the problems of the schools largely on its own. The federal government is now making increasing demands on local school systems at the same time that it is providing fairly substantial sums for certain kinds of educational programs. The state of Illinois, which has the constitutional responsibility for the schools, has never really accepted that responsibility. Changes in these relationships are overdue, but they will depend on pressure from some of the types of citizen groups mentioned above.

## Questions Which Must Be Answered

What method can be instituted which will result in a Board of Education composed of individuals who

1. Are in touch with the needs and desires of the community and the pupils to be educated.

2. Have sufficient prestige and status in the community to be able to give leadership in the support of wise policies, in developing needed financial resources for the schools at the local, state, and federal levels, and in securing the cooperation of important segments of the community, such as business, labor, civic and welfare agencies.

3. Have abilities and understanding which will help in the solution of problems that come before the Board: educational, financial, social, and technical?

What can be done to make more effective use of the valuable resources of the metropolitan press, radio, and TV to develop understanding and support for wise school policies?

What can be done to make the PTA and the citizen groups a better source of communication and strength in meeting school needs? How can pressure groups be re-directed towards constructive help in the solution of problems?

What can be done to bring public and private institutions of higher education into an imaginative and cooperative relationship that will assure a fruitful sharing of their faculties and physical resources?

Can the concept of social systems and social roles help the transient occupants of these roles to recognize the difficulties which arise as a result of conflicting roles and competing systems, and to seek for intelligent solutions?

Should the idea of "keeping politics out of the schools" give place to an acceptance of the fact that politics, as the system which enables governmental institutions to respond to the needs and desires of the community, has a place in determining the main lines of educational policy. The objective should rather be the choice of wise political leaders, and the creation of mechanisms (such as a reformed Advisory Commission) by which they can be helped to choose good Board members.

Is the city the proper governmental level at which to fix responsibility for the direction of the schools? Alternatives might be local community direction, or a state-wide system, or a combination of both? History tells us, however, that there is tremendous reluctance to make fundamental changes in such matters as the method of selecting board members, or the basic school laws.

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TITLE

INTERACTION BETWEEN SOCIETY AND EDUCATION IN CHICAGO
(Final Report in Summary Form)

PERSONAL AUTHOR(S)

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INSTITUTION (SOURCE)

University of Chicago, Department of Education, Chicago, Illinois

SOURCE CODE

REPORT/SERIES NO.

OTHER SOURCE

SOURCE CODE

OTHER REPORT NO.

OTHER SOURCE

SOURCE CODE

OTHER REPORT NO.

PUB'L. DATE 30 Jun -68 –

CONTRACT/GRANT NUMBER HEW-OE-5-10-303

PAGINATION, ETC.

70 pages

RETRIEVAL TERMS

IDENTIFIERS

ABSTRACT

This study examines the interaction between the school systems of the Chicago metropolitan area, viewed as social systems, and other social systems. A social system is defined as a set of roles and constellations of roles which serve a special function--the function of the school system being to teach children and adults some things which society wants them to learn. In the process the social system interacts with other systems which serve other functions. Since social systems are conditioned by past as well as present influences, some of the chapters are historical in nature, covering especially the period from 1925 to 1965. The interacting systems covered in this study are: the political system, including local city government and the state in its relation to public school systems; business; teachers' organizations; the parent-teacher association and other civic organizations; the metropolitan press; the church system; the system of welfare and health agencies; and the civil rights organizations. Principal emphasis is given to the Chicago public school system, including an examination of the changing roles of the board of education and the superintendent and the performance of some of the individuals who have filled these roles. But the Catholic school system, suburban school systems, and higher education are also examined from the point of view of their historical development and of their interaction with other parts of the educational system.